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Butler

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
IN
CAMBRIDGE.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE, CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS,

OF

JOSEPH BUTLER,

D. C. L.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

By THOMAS BARTLETT, A.M.,

RECTOR OF KINGSTONE, KENT,
AND ONE OF THE SIX PREACHERS IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CHRIST, CANTERBURY.

"The constitution of the world, and God's natural government over it, is all mystery, as much as the Christian dispensation. Yet under the first, he has given men all things pertaining to life; and under the other, all things pertaining unto godliness." ANALOGY, Chap. V.

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M.DCCC.XXXIX.

TO

HIS GRACE

WILLIAM,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND

AND

METROPOLITAN;

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS

OF THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS,

OF A PRELATE

WHOSE MEMORY HE REVERES,

AND THE IMPORTANCE OF WHOSE LABOURS

IN THE CAUSE OF TRUTH

HE JUSTLY APPRECIATES,

ARE,

WITH HIS GRACE'S KIND PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS VERY DUTIFUL,

AND MUCH OBLIGED SERVANT,

THOMAS BARTLETT.

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PREFACE.

It is remarked, by a writer in a valuable Irish periodical, in an article entitled Butleriana*, as "passing strange, that no biographer was ever found to preserve to us any memoir of the profoundest thinker, the man of the greatest intellect in his day; and not only pre-eminent in his own day, but in the foremost rank of the immortalized sages of the world; a man, moreover, beloved by a circle of highly-gifted friends, who appreciated his worth, delighted in his society, and honoured his memory. The short account of him in the *Biographia Britannica* is nevertheless the fullest, indeed, I may say, the only memoir that now exists. It has struck me, that in the dearth of materials which now, after the lapse of more than eighty years, could be collected for compiling his life, it might be interesting to bring together the scattered notices of Bishop Butler, which are

* *The Christian Examiner, and Church of Ireland Magazine*, Oct. 1837.

to be found incidentally occurring in various authors."

That which is here suggested, as a desideratum in biographical literature, I have now endeavoured to accomplish; and, although the above passage did not meet my eye until the greater part of the following *Memoir* was written, yet, if an apology be needed for the attempt, I may perhaps, in bar of censure, be allowed to put in that passage as my plea.

In addition, however, to the materials in the short memoir by Dr. Kippis, in the *Biographia Britannica,* as far as I have found them accurate by a comparison of dates with those in the bishop's own private memoranda; and in addition to various literary notices, collected from the writings of eminent Authors, both in Great Britain and America, I have been enabled to introduce, from private and family sources, many facts and anecdotes which have not before been submitted to the public.

The design has been long entertained of extending the acquaintance of the reading classes, with the life and character of a man, who is not

to be regarded as the exclusive property of any section or party in the Church of Christ, but as the common property of Christendom. And I readily confess, that my desire to accomplish this design has not been the less strong, on account of the gratification which it would naturally afford to his surviving relatives (amongst whom are my wife and children), who cannot but consider it a distinguished honour to venerate Bishop Butler as their ancestor. That more matter, however, has not been gleaned, and that disappointment should have followed research, in quarters where it was hoped that original manuscripts would have been recovered, no one can more deeply regret than myself. If, on the other hand, it shall be thought, that the materials now, for the first time, brought together, are calculated to gratify those who are cager to know more about the illustrious Author of the *Analogy*, I shall consider my humble labours abundantly repaid.

There may be those, however, who will be of opinion, that one portion of the following volume, the COMPENDIUM OF THE ANALOGY, should not have been attempted; and that it would have been better not to have presumed to exhibit Butler otherwise than as his own immortal work, in its natural shape and dimensions, has exhibited

him. I am far from denying the weight of this objection; and they who urge it will find a high authority on their side, in the remarks of the talented writer cited in the *Memoir*, (page 49,) who says,—"We have heard persons talk of the obscurity of Bishop Butler's style, and lament that his book was not re-written by some more luminous master of language. We have always suspected that such critics knew very little about the *Analogy*. We would have no sacrilegious hand touch it. It would be like officious meddling with a well-considered move at chess. We should change a word in it with the caution of men expounding hieroglyphics,—it has a meaning, but *we* have not hit upon it, *others* may, or we ourselves may at another time." So impressed am I, by the general correctness of these remarks, that I have carefully avoided the presumption of changing the terms, or altering the expressions of Bishop Butler; and have confined myself to the task of making selections of such portions and passages, as appear to stand prominently forth, in each Chapter of the *Analogy*, and of giving them *in the Author's own language*. The punctuation has been no further varied than was occasionally necessary, in connecting the detached portions together; and it has but rarely occurred, that the change of a single particle has been made in the process.

Could I, indeed, have felt justified in taking greater liberties with Bishop Butler's style, the difficulties of my task would have been materially lessened. Many passages might then have been reconstructed, so as to fall in with the argument in hand, with considerably less trouble than was required in cautiously selecting, from the author's own language, every successive and connecting link in the abbreviated chain of the discourse. Of an attempt then, thus conducted, comparatively easy as it might have been to a more penetrating intellect, and more practised hand, I cannot but exclaim, '*Hoc opus, hic labor est!*'

To determine in a work of such a character, where every sentence and word has its own specific and relative weight, what to select, and what to pass over, has frequently been a point of no ordinary perplexity. In writing the MEMOIR of this great man, I found a straight-forward and agreeable path; in preparing a COMPENDIUM OF THE ANALOGY, the road was always difficult, and sometimes painful, from a proper distrust of my own judgment, where it was not an easy thing to call in aid the judgment of another. The time and attention, moreover, which I have deemed it my duty to devote to this object, have

been so considerable, as to deter me from imposing upon another the laborious task of as deliberately, and as carefully, tracing my steps. But, unless the ground I have trodden were as carefully passed over by an auxiliary, suggestions, formed upon a hasty view of the whole, might only have embarrassed my own course, without conducting me to a more satisfactory result. If then, as it may well be thought, I have performed the more arduous branch of my design imperfectly, I trust, at least, that my motives for entering upon it will not be condemned. Having met with many well-educated persons who are unacquainted with the *Analogy*, and many more who, although in some measure acquainted with this masterly *Treatise*, are wholly ignorant of Butler's other, and perhaps equally valuable writings, I am led to indulge a hope, that the COMPENDIUM, now given of the former production, by attracting the notice of those of this class who may peruse the *Memoir*, may promote a wider study of the entire works of one, of whom Bishop Halifax observed, that he had "done as much essential service to the cause of sound morality and true religion, as any single person, since the extraordinary gifts 'of the word of wisdom, and the word of knowledge,' have been withdrawn."

To this may be added another motive,—a desire to make the leading arguments of Butler's *Analogy* known, in quarters where the entire work is not likely to be met with. It is generally admitted, that these arguments furnish one of the most powerful antidotes, against infidelity, that English literature can supply; and it is an appalling fact, that infidel productions are, at the present moment, widely diffused, in a cheap and insidious form, both in the metropolis, and in many of our manufacturing districts. The *Analogy* however, is of too copious and expensive a character to circulate freely amongst those, who have but little time to devote to the perusal, and but little money to expend in the purchase, of such a work. But, assuming that it is a desirable object to bring the arguments of Butler before the public in a briefer form, although many analyses of the *Analogy* have already appeared, I am not aware of one which is either intended, or adapted, for this purpose. The *Preface* of Bishop Halifax, and *The Introductory Essay* of Bishop Wilson, were designed to accompany the work itself, and not to be separated from it. The edition of the *Analogy* by the Reverend Edward Bushby, with the omission of the Chapters on "the opinion of Necessity, considered as influencing practice," and "on the objections against

arguing from the Analogy of Nature to Religion," and other alterations, was expressly prepared for the use of students in their college course. *Hobart's Analysis*, moreover, with valuable notes and comprehensive summaries of each Chapter,—and the *Examination Questions*, grounded upon that *Analysis*, by the Reverend G. W. Craufurd, profess to aim at the same object; that of making *the university student* better acquainted with Butler's design, "the refutation of objections, and the removal of apparent improbabilities,"—"the complete accomplishment of which is, alone," as remarks the Reverend Edward Bushby, "one of the greatest services that has ever been rendered to the cause of religion." Whatever, then, may be the respective merits of these several productions, and however accurately adapted they may be to the purpose for which they are designed, there is not one amongst them calculated to answer the end now assumed to be an important one.

Although, therefore, the COMPENDIUM OF THE ANALOGY, (which is added to this volume, and which contains about a third part of the original matter,) may not present an adequate idea of the vast stores of Butler's richly-furnished mind, and of the almost endless illustrations which

he so profusely throws around his subject; and although, in point of fact, it may render very imperfect justice to the writer of that incomparable *Treatise*, yet, if it shall be found to exhibit, in a tolerably clear manner, a condensed view of the leading arguments of the *Analogy*, it may perhaps assist the accomplishment of an important object. By circulating in a cheap form, it may meet infidelity, in some of its lower walks, amongst the large masses of our reading, and reflecting, and progressively intelligent, population, to whom Butler, in his own natural shape and dimensions, cannot be expected to gain access.

An advertisement has appeared, in several of the leading journals, soliciting original documents for this work, should any such be known to exist, but it has not been productive of one such document. Neither has it been the means of directing my attention to any circumstances connected with Bishop Butler, nor to any notices of him, with which I was not previously acquainted.

To his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for allowing me the use of some private papers of Archbishop Secker;—to the Lord Bishop of Exeter, for his permission to make extracts from his interesting letter to the Archdeacon of Lincoln;—

to the Archdeacon of Lincoln, for placing in my hands various correspondence and memoranda, referring to Bishop Butler;—to the Rev. Alexander Irwin, for affording me access to several scarce tracts, and other useful matter;—to the Dean of Salisbury, the Provost of Oriel, the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, and the gentlemen, both clergymen and laymen, who have assisted me by their ready replies to my troublesome inquiries, I take this public opportunity of recording my sincere and grateful thanks.

THOMAS BARTLETT.

N.B. Since this Preface was written, the anecdote of Bishop Butler, in the conversation between the Bishop of Peterborough, and his relative, has reached me, through the obliging attention of the Christian Advocate at Cambridge.

KINGSTONE RECTORY,
Dec. 20, 1838.

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ERRATA.

Page 106, line 2, in note, *for* with, *read* and.
109 „ 16, *for* Dalila, *read* Delilah.
162 „ 1, in note, *for* mscellaneous, *read* miscellaneous.
174 „ 18, *for* Archbishop, *read* Archdeacon.
227 „ 17, *for* stone, *read* tablet.
233 „ 30, *for* moring, *read* morning.
268 „ 7, *for* codocil, *read* codicil.
271 „ 4, *for* Warburbon, *read* Warburton.
273 „ 2, *for* codocil, *read* codicil.
284 „ 12, *for* could, *read* might.
304 „ 21, *for* for, *read* my.
308 „ 29, in recoveriug, *for* u. *read* n.
310 „ 4, *for* tyle, *read* style.
333 „ 23, *for* be, *read* he.
362 „ 24, *for* or, *read* of.

MEMOIRS

OF

BISHOP BUTLER.

CHAPTER I.

Bishop Butler's birth and early education.—Removal to the Dissenting Academy at Gloucester and Tewkesbury.—Correspondence with Dr. Clarke. — Considers the ground of Nonconformity.—Decides upon conforming to the Church of England.—Enters at Oriel College.—His acquaintance with Mr. E. Talbot. — Occasionally officiates for him at Hendred.—Appointed Preacher at the Rolls.—Notice of Dr. Samuel Clarke.—Butler receives pecuniary assistance from his family.—A change in Mr. Secker's plans.—Butler speaks favourably of him to Mr. Talbot. — Mr. Talbot's death.—His acquaintance with Whiston.—Mr. Secker takes Orders, and marries Miss Benson.—Bishop Talbot prefers Butler, Secker, and Benson.

THE market-town of Wantage, in Berkshire, unpretending as it is in itself, is remarkable as the birth-place of two celebrated individuals; of Alfred the Great, one of the most renowned of England's monarchs, and of Joseph Butler, one of the most distinguished of her prelates. The site of the palace of the Saxon king, and of the royal baths which were attached to it, are objects of interest to the antiquarian at the present hour; and the house in which Butler passed his juvenile

years, and the school in which he received the rudiments of that education which ultimately yielded such solid fruits, are no less objects of interest to the theological student.

Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, and the author of *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature,* and of the celebrated *Fifteen Sermons,* was born at Wantage, on the 18th of May, in the year 1692. He was the son of Thomas Butler, a substantial and respectable linen and woollen draper; who, having retired from business, resided at the extremity of the town, in a house called the Priory. Although this house has undergone considerable alterations, the room which witnessed the birth of Joseph Butler remains in nearly its original state, and has been often inspected by the writer of this Memoir. The Priory, with the lands adjoining, was held by a renewable lease, under the dean and chapter of Windsor, and remained in the possession of the family of the bishop, until it was sold by them to the late ingenious and talented master of the Wantage Academy, Mr. Thomas Jennings; by whom it was occupied for many years, as a school for boys. It is now the property of his son-in-law, and is again used as a private residence.

Thomas Butler had eight children, of whom the bishop was the youngest. Robert, Jonathan, and Joseph, arrived at maturity, but only the two

former married and left issue. Three daughters were married and left issue, and are alluded to, both in the will of the bishop, and in that of his father, under the respective names of Hall, Cope, and Rigburg. One of these daughters, Deborah, became the wife of Bartholomew Hall, of Harpsden Court, in the county of Oxford, esquire; whose descendants are still possessors of that property, as their ancestors have been for many generations. Of the issue of Robert and Jonathan, the elder sons of Thomas Butler, a brief account will be given at the end of this Memoir.

Leland, in his description of Wantage, speaks of it as remarkable for having two churches in one churchyard. The smaller of these, a very ancient structure, with the entrance through a fine Norman arch, was for many ages used as a grammar-school, and it was in this seminary that the education of Joseph Butler was commenced, under the tuition of the Rev. Philip Barton, a clergyman of the Church of England. Having been carefully grounded in the elements of classical literature, by the diligent superintendence of this worthy man, and having discovered a talent and inclination for the acquisition of knowledge, far beyond his years, his father, who was a member of the Presbyterian communion, resolved to educate him for the ministry, amongst Protestant Dissenters of his own denomination. With this view, he was removed from the grammar-school

at Wantage, to a dissenting academy at Gloucester, of which the principal tutor was Mr. Jones; a person of very superior acquirements and ability, under whom were trained up many eminent scholars, who were afterwards distinguished in various walks of science. Among these, besides the subject of this Memoir, may be mentioned Archbishop Secker, Lord Bowes the Chancellor of Ireland, and Dr. Samuel Chandler, a nonconformist minister. This learned individual was cotemporary with Butler and Secker, after the academy was removed from Gloucester to Tewkesbury, with both of whom, notwithstanding their subsequent differences of opinion upon the points of episcopacy and nonconformity, he maintained the most friendly intercourse, until the end of their life. Dr. Chandler is said to have been offered preferment if he would enter the Church. Vide Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Amory*.

Butler pursued his theological studies, under Mr. Jones, with unwearied diligence and unparalleled success; and it was during the latter part of his residence at Tewkesbury, and when he had only attained his twenty-first year, that he afforded an extraordinary proof of the extent to which he

* In Milner's life of Dr. Isaac Watts, (p. 232,) there is a letter from Secker to that distinguished individual, when he was at Mr. Jones's academy, in 1711, which gives an account of the course of study pursued there, and of some of his fellow-students. As Butler's name is not mentioned in it, it is possible that he had not at that period arrived there.

had carried his metaphysical researches, in the letters which he anonymously addressed to Dr. Samuel Clarke. He commenced the first of these letters, which is dated Nov. 4, 1713, by remarking that he had "made it his business, ever since he thought himself capable of such sort of reasoning, to prove to himself the being and attributes of God;" that, "being sensible that it is a matter of the last consequence, he endeavoured after a demonstrative proof, not only more fully to satisfy his own mind, but also in order to defend the great truths of natural religion, and those of the Christian revelation, which follow from them, against all opposers." He expresses his "concern, that hitherto he has been unsuccessful; for although he had got very probable arguments, yet he could go but a very little way with demonstration in the proof of those things." He refers to the hope he had entertained, of having all his inquiries answered, by the perusal of the work published by his learned correspondent, entitled *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*; but adds, that "even that had failed him." He then proceeds to state the difficulties which arose in his mind, in connexion with Proposition 6, where Dr. Clarke proposes to prove, "the infinity or omnipresence of the Self-existent Being;" observing, "The former part of the proof seems highly probable; but the latter part, which seems to aim at demonstration,

is not to me convincing." The cogency and depth of thought contained in Butler's arguments, and the modesty with which they were proposed, attracted the attention of the distinguished person to whom they were submitted, and he commenced his reply, dated Nov. 10, in the following manner: "Did men who publish controversial papers, accustom themselves to write with that candour and ingenuity with which you propose your difficulties, I am persuaded almost all disputes might be very amicably terminated, either by men's coming at last to agree in opinion, or at finding reason to suffer each other friendly to differ. Your two objections are very ingenious, and urged with great strength and acuteness; yet I am not without hopes of being able to give you satisfaction in both of them." The letter concludes with this remark: "If any thing still sticks with you in this or any other part of my books, I shall be very willing to be informed of it."

This correspondence extends to five letters on each side. Butler opens the second, by saying, "I have often thought that the chief occasions of men's differing so much in their opinions, were, either their not understanding each other; or else, that instead of ingenuously searching after truth, they have made it their business to find out arguments for the proof of what they have once asserted." "I am sorry I must tell you, your answers to my objections are not satisfactory. The

reasons why I think them not so, are as follow," &c. Dr. Clarke, with much courtesy, replied to these reasons, but without convincing Butler's mind; who thus concludes his rejoinder: "I am so far from being pleased that I can form objections to your arguments, that besides the satisfaction it would have given me in my own mind, I should have thought it an honour to have entered into your reasonings, and seen the force of them. I cannot desire to trespass any more upon your better employed time; so shall only add my hearty thanks for your trouble on my account, and that I am, with the greatest respect, &c."

The great metaphysician, however, whom Butler addressed, was not willing that the correspondence should thus terminate, and he therefore began his third letter with, "Though, when I turn my thoughts every way, I fully persuade myself there is no defect in the argument itself; yet in my manner of expression, I am satisfied there must be some want of clearness, when there remains any difficulty to a person of your abilities and sagacity." To this, Butler answers, "Whatever is the occasion of my not seeing the force of your reasonings, I cannot impute it to (what you do) the want of clearness in your expression. I am too well acquainted with myself, to think my not understanding an argument, a sufficient reason to conclude that it is either improperly expressed, or not conclusive; unless I can clearly show the

defect of it. It is with the greatest satisfaction, I must tell you, that the more I reflect on your first argument, the more I am convinced of the truth of it." "I wish I were as well satisfied in respect to the other." He thus concludes this fourth letter: "All your consequences, I see, follow demonstrably from your supposition; and *were that evident,* I believe it would serve to prove several other things as well as what you bring it for. Upon this account, I should be extremely pleased to see it proved by any one. For, as I design *the search after truth as the business of my life,* I shall not be ashamed to learn from any person; though, at the same time, I cannot but be sensible, that instruction from some men is like the gift of a prince, it reflects honour on the person on whom it lays an obligation."

To the further explanations of Dr. Clarke, Butler, in the commencement of his fifth letter, remarks, "You have very comprehensively expressed in six or seven lines, all the difficulties of my letter." "I am very glad the debate is come into so narrow a compass; for I think now it entirely turns upon this, whether our ideas of space and duration are partial, so as to pre-suppose the existence of some other thing," &c. Having then proposed certain difficulties which lay in the way of a demonstrative conclusion, he adds, "Notwithstanding what I have now said, I cannot say that I believe your argument not

conclusive; for I must own my ignorance, that I am really at a loss about the nature of space and duration." The correspondence on Butler's part was thus ended: "Your argument for the omnipresence of God, seemed always to me very probable. But being very desirous to have it appear demonstrably conclusive, I was sometimes forced to say what was not altogether my opinion; not that I did this for the sake of disputing (for besides the particular disagreeableness of this to my own temper, I should surely have chosen another person to have trifled with); but I did it to set off the objections to advantage, that it might be more fully answered."

The closing letter of Dr. Clarke, contains the following passage: "We seem to have pushed the matter in question between us as far as it will go; and, upon the whole, I cannot but take notice, I have very seldom met with persons so reasonable and unprejudiced as yourself, in such debates as these."

Although it would have been uninteresting and tedious to general readers to have stated at large, the various arguments employed by these distinguished persons, in their epistolary discussion, it may be useful to have alluded to the subject, for the purpose of affording an incidental view of the dawning of Butler's great mind upon a theme, on a portion of which he afterwards delivered himself with such extraordinary felicity and

power. It was of these letters to Dr. Clarke that Sir James Mackintosh, in his *Dissertation on the Foundations of a more just Theory of Ethics*, remarked, "He suggested objections to the celebrated Demonstration, which were really insuperable, and which are marked by an acuteness which neither himself nor any other ever surpassed."

This correspondence on Butler's part was carried on through his fellow pupil, Mr. Secker, who, in order to preserve his friend's *incognito*, kindly undertook the trouble of conveying his letters to the post-office at Gloucester, as well as of bringing back the answers of Dr. Clarke. When this gentleman, at length, learned the name of his anonymous correspondent, he expressed the highest admiration of the talent and modesty he had displayed, and cordially offered him his friendship; which was not without its influence upon the future career of Butler. In no manner, however, could Dr. Clarke more clearly have manifested the respect he entertained for the stripling, who had ventured to become his metaphysical antagonist, than by the step which he adopted of annexing the correspondence, or permitting it to be annexed, to the celebrated treatise which gave rise to it; and, in all the subsequent editions of which, this correspondence is retained.

The attention of Butler, however, was not entirely occupied, during his residence at Tewkesbury,

in metaphysical researches; it was seriously and diligently employed in weighing the grounds of nonconformity, and in deliberating upon the consistency of becoming a minister of the communion in which he had been brought up. The result of a careful investigation of the principles of nonconformity was such a disinclination towards them, as led him to a conviction that it was his duty to conform to the Established Church. This view of the case, however, was by no means in accordance with his father's wishes, who was anxious to see him ministering amongst the class of Christians to which he himself belonged. In order to divert his intention, therefore, Thomas Butler, who was one of the chief supporters of the Old Presbyterian Chapel in his native town, summoned to his aid several eminent divines of that persuasion, to confer with his son upon the important subject; and amongst these is supposed to have been an individual of considerable reasoning powers, and a great friend of the family, who was the Presbyterian minister at the neighbouring town of Farringdon.

Notwithstanding this measure, however, resorted to by the anxious parent to overcome the scruples of his son, the purpose of the latter remained unshaken. Nor is it to be wondered at, that he who was unwilling to admit the theory of Dr. Clarke, without calling for demonstrative evidence, should not be easily driven from the

conviction he had arrived at, after a deep and conscientious examination of the grounds upon which it rested.

When, therefore, the peculiar texture of Butler's mind is considered, his uncommon powers of investigation, his patient and unwearied search after truth, his cautious hesitation in coming to a conclusion without a comprehensive view of the whole bearings of the case; and, when too, the counter tide of parental wishes, and family feelings, and early habits, are placed in the scale, perhaps the secession of no man, from the ranks of nonconformity, ever furnished a stronger argument in favour of an Established Church, than the decision of Joseph Butler to conform to the Church of England. For it must not be forgotten, that he could have had no prospects of secular advancement to bias him, beyond such as might naturally follow a diligent and faithful discharge of his ministerial duties. The scene which presents itself to the imagination, where the youthful theologian is combating the arguments and resisting the importunities of those, who, doubtless with the kindest motives, would have turned him back again from the Church to which his recent convictions had attached him, and from the mother who was prepared to cherish him in her bosom, reminds us of the touching scene described by the inspired Penman, when Orpah "kissed her mother-in-law" Naomi, and left her; "*but Ruth clave unto her.*

And she said, Behold thy sister-in-law is gone back unto her people," " return thou after thy sister-in-law. And Ruth said, Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest I will go; and where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: Where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me."—Ruth i. 14-17.

The only vestige of the poetical powers of the author of the *Analogy*, in the possession of his family, is a copy of verses written by him, about this period, in the shape of an acrostic epitaph upon a female cousin, for whom he is supposed to have entertained a great regard. The publication of these verses, however, would add nothing to his literary fame. Of the most distinguished men it may be said, " Non omnia possumus omnes."

When Thomas Butler found that the decision, at which his son Joseph had arrived, was not to be shaken, he entered him as a commoner of Oriel College, in the neighbouring University of Oxford, upon the 17th of March, 1714.

It was while he was an under-graduate at Oriel that the subject of this Memoir formed an acquaintance, which speedily ripened into a sincere and warm friendship, with Mr. Edward Talbot, the second son of Dr. William Talbot, Bishop of Durham; with whom he lived in habits of the

closest intimacy, until the decease of his young friend inflicted a severe blow upon the affectionate heart of Butler. In the brief memoir of the author of the *Analogy*, given in the *Biographia Britannica*, and which is appended by Dr. Halifax to his preface to the Works of Butler, it is said, "At what time he took orders doth not appear, nor who the bishop was by whom he was ordained; but it is certain that he entered into the Church soon after his admission at Oxford, if it be true, as is asserted, that he sometimes assisted Mr. Edward Talbot in the divine service, at his living at Hendred near Wantage." That he occasionally officiated at Hendred is proved by the fact of several entries, both in the register of baptisms and burials of that parish, appearing in his autograph, from the spring of 1717 to the autumn of the same year. These entries have been carefully compared with his private memoranda book of that period, and contain such internal marks of identity in the writing, as to remove all reasonable doubt upon the subject.

It is perhaps a little singular, that notwithstanding these private memoranda refer to the date of almost every other prominent event connected with his public life, there is no allusion either to the period of his ordination, or to the prelate who conferred holy orders upon him.

It does not appear that Butler undertook any regular ministerial charge, until early in the fol-

lowing year 1718, when, upon the joint recommendation of Edward Talbot and Dr. Samuel Clarke, he was appointed Preacher at the Rolls Court. He received this honourable appointment before he had completed his twenty-sixth year, and it was not until three years afterwards that he took his degree of B. C. L., on the 10th of June, 1721.

When Dr. Samuel Clarke united his influence with that of Mr. Edward Talbot to place Butler at the Rolls Chapel, he was himself Rector of St. James's. That this highly gifted man should have lapsed into Arianism is deeply to be regretted. That his subsequent advancement in the Church of England was in consequence impeded, was a point of minor importance; but that his usefulness, as a Minister of the Gospel, should have been thereby destroyed, and that he should have employed his powerful talents in promulgating error, instead of disseminating truth, was an evil to be deplored by every well-wisher of himself and his country. His *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* called forth replies from many able divines of a sounder creed, amongst whom Dr. Waterland was prominently distinguished. Dr. Clarke regarded the Second and Third Persons in the Trinity as emanations only from the First; but as possessing every attribute of the Godhead with the exception of *self-existence*. An interesting anecdote of him, in connexion with his theory, is

preserved in the *Reminiscences of Charles Butler*. It is stated, that a conference was held at the request of Queen Caroline, in her presence, upon the subject of the Trinity, between Dr. Clarke and Dr. Hawarden, a distinguished theologian of the Romish persuasion. After Dr. Clarke had, with great care and ability, expounded his own views, Dr. Hawarden remarked, that he had a question to propose *in limine*, to which he desired a distinct answer, as a means of narrowing the ground of discussion. Upon Dr. Clarke assenting to this request, his opponent said, "I ask, then, can God the Father *annihilate* the Son and the Holy Ghost?" Dr. Clarke, after remaining for some time in deep meditation, replied, that this question had never been considered by him; and there the conference terminated.

Dr. Samuel Clarke died, from an attack of pleurisy, in May, 1729.

As the stipend connected with the preachership of the Rolls was inconsiderable, and as the duties of the office required residence in the metropolis during the terms, Butler found it convenient to receive pecuniary assistance from his family at Wantage. There are two distinct remittances of money acknowledged in his cash account at this period, as sent him by his brother.

About two years after his appointment at the Rolls, a change was effected in the views and plans of his friend Mr. Secker, which eventually led to

his useful career, and elevated station in the Church of England. Secker was designed by his father to become a minister amongst the Dissenters; but, not being able to make up his mind upon the communion to which he should attach himself, he determined to pursue a profession which would leave him at liberty to decide this point at his leisure. He therefore commenced the study of physic, and, after attending the medical schools in London, continued his studies in Paris, where he became acquainted with Mr. Martin Benson. During Secker's residence in Paris he maintained a regular correspondence with Butler, who, without his knowledge, had spoken of him so favourably to his friend Mr. Talbot, that the latter promised, if he thought proper to take orders in the Church of England, to recommend him to the notice of his father, Bishop Talbot. Butler communicated this intelligence to his friend in Paris in the beginning of May, 1720; and his state of mind at that period is thus described by Dr. Porteus, in his *Life of Secker.*

"He had not at that time come to any resolution of quitting the study of physic; but he began to foresee many obstacles to his pursuing that profession; and having never discontinued his application to theology, his former difficulties, both with regard to conformity and some other doubtful points, had gradually lessened, as his judgment became stronger, and his reading and

knowledge more extensive. It appears also from two of his letters still in being, written from Paris to a friend in England (both of them prior to the date of Mr. Butler's abovementioned), that he was greatly dissatisfied with the divisions and disturbances which at that particular period prevailed amongst the Dissenters. In this state of mind Mr. Butler's unexpected proposal found him, which he was therefore very well disposed to take into consideration; and after deliberating carefully on the subject of such a change for upwards of two months, he resolved at length to embrace the offer, and for that purpose quitted France the latter end of July or beginning of August, 1720."

Upon Secker's return to his own country, his friend Butler introduced him to Mr. Talbot, with whom he immediately formed a close intimacy; which however was speedily terminated, by the lamented decease of that gentleman at the end of the same year. Mr. Talbot caught the small-pox, of which he died December, 1720, at the early age of twenty-nine years, having, on his death-bed, warmly recommended Butler, Secker, and Benson, to the patronage of his father, then Bishop of Salisbury.

This amiable young man, whose opening career was thus prematurely terminated, was, for a short period, in danger of being led astray by the enthusiastic reveries of the learned, but erratic William Whiston, now chiefly known as the

translator of the Works of Josephus. This extraordinary person, not satisfied with his mathematical and astronomical researches, employed much of his time in theorising upon the *Apostolical Constitutions*, upon plans for promoting Primitive Christianity, and in various prophetical speculations *.

In 1724 he delivered a course of lectures in the metropolis, in Tunbridge, Bath, and Bristol, upon the temples of the Jews; which lectures he considered to be preparatory to the restoration of that ancient people. "This subject," he says, "I take to be my peculiar business at present; since I have, I think, plainly discovered that it will not be many years before the Messiah will come for the restoration of the Jews, and the first resurrection, when the last of these temples, the temple of Ezekiel, will be built upon Mount Sion, as the three former had been upon Mount Moriah."

Amongst his discoveries, in connexion with the *Apostolical Constitutions*, was the duty of "half fasts," on the "Wednesday and Friday stations;" for the observance of which he thought he could urge stronger reasons than for that of the Christian sabbath. He was extremely rigid in the adoption of these vigils, and denied the Romish position, that, "Liquidum non solvit jejunium." "I went

* The Vice Chancellor of Cambridge refused to license the *Essay upon the Apostolical Constitutions*, because it was unsound upon the doctrine of the Trinity.

once," he observes, "to speak with the learned Dr. Woodward, the physician. It was on a Wednesday or a Friday, I do not know which. He offered me a dish of chocolate, which I refused, telling him that I kept the old rule of Christians, and should not take any more food till three o'clock in the afternoon. He replied that I might drink chocolate, if it were milled, and thereby made a liquid, and be fasting still. And, to prove his assertion, he produced a thin book in quarto, written by a cardinal, to that very purpose; however, neither did the cardinal's authority nor reason move me to alter my own Christian practice."

When Dr. Halley, the astronomer, amused at the inconvenient extent to which he carried out his principle of "*half fasts*," remarked, that he "feared he had a Pope in his belly," Whiston answered, that were it not for "the rise, now and and then, of a Luther and a *Whiston*, he would himself be found kneeling at the shrine of St. Winifred and St. Bridget."

One of his latest discoveries was, that *the Tartars are the lost ten tribes of the Jews.* But Edward Talbot's acquaintance with this singular person was at an earlier period, and before that gentleman had taken orders. Whiston had established a little society, for the purpose of conducting divine worship after a manner arranged by himself; and of this he thus speaks in his *Memoir:* "On Easter Day, 1715, we began to

have a solemn assembly for worship and the eucharist, at my house in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, according to the form in my liturgy. About fifteen communicants present. On Whitsunday the same year we had a second solemn assembly for the same purpose, which was continued several years, at least three times in the year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas."

"In pursuance of my proposals for erecting societies for promoting primitive Christianity, such a society was erected about this time, and met weekly at the Primitive Library, which was at my house in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, in which house I have heard the famous Mr. Flampsteed once also lived. It lasted about two years, from July 3rd, 1715, to June 28th, 1717; of which society, its chairman, and secretary, and rules, see *Dr. Clarke's Life*."

Of this little society, it appears that Edward Talbot was, for a season, a member. His introduction to Whiston, and the termination of their intercourse, are thus characteristically related by himself. "When Mr. Rundel came afterwards to London, he became an hearty and zealous member of our society; and introduced into it another excellent young man, Mr. Talbot, the son of Bishop Talbot, who afterwards took holy orders and died very young." "Now, although Mr. Rundel was at first so zealous for religion as a member of our society, yet did not he keep himself in so tem-

perate and abstemious a way of living, as one that seemed disposed to be a confessor ought to use himself to; which made that real confessor, Mr. Evelyn, then say, that Mr. Rundel did not seem cut out for such sufferings as confessors are to expect. Accordingly, Mr. Rundel once invited me to eat a cheesecake, as he termed it, with Mr. Talbot and himself, to which invitation I agreed, without suspicion of any particular design. But when I came, I found such a collation of wine and sweetmeats prepared, as little corresponded to the terms of the invitation. After some time the secret was disclosed; and I was informed that they were both determined to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, and take holy orders, and preferment. This greatly surprised me, and occasioned this short, but sharp answer from me: *I understand you well; you are going to leave the paths of uprightness, to walk in the ways of darkness, and I will have nothing more to do with you.*"

Edward Talbot, who was the rector of East Hendred, near Wantage, and archdeacon of Berkshire, had married Mary, daughter of the Reverend George Martyn, prebendary of Lincoln, whose only child, Catharine Talbot, the well known author of *Reflections, Letters, &c.*, was not born until five months after his decease*. With this lady resided, as her affectionate friend and inse-

* Edward Talbot was elected fellow of Oriel, in 1712, and resigned his fellowship, upon his marriage, in 1715.

parable companion, Mrs. Catharine Benson, with whom Mr. Secker became acquainted in his visits of gratitude and condolence to the widow of Edward Talbot. He was so much impressed by her good sense, and many amiable qualities, that he subsequently made proposals of marriage to her, and she became his wife; when, at the earnest request of both Mrs. Secker and himself, Mrs. Talbot and her daughter consented to form part of their domestic circle. From this period they continued to reside in the family of Secker until his death as Archbishop, in August, 1768. Catharine Talbot, having for three years suffered from a cancer, died January 9, 1771, aged forty-nine; while her venerable parent, who survived her husband sixty-three years, did not depart this life until January 29, 1784, aged ninety-three.

Bishop Talbot, in November, 1721, was translated to the see of Durham, and in the following year presented Mr. Butler to the living of Haughton, near Darlington. In the year 1724, upon the death of Sir George Wheeler, he collated Mr. Benson to the prebendal stall held by him at Durham, and Mr. Secker, whom he ordained in 1722, to the rectory of Houghton le Spring.

CHAPTER II.

Butler prepares to build at Haughton.—Removed to Stanhope.—Celebrated *Fifteen Sermons* published.—Sir James Mackintosh's remark upon them; Dr. Chalmers' ditto; Dr. Francis Weyland's ditto; Dr. O'Brien's ditto; Dr. Chalmers again of ditto; *Edinburgh Review* of ditto; Dr. Chalmers of Butler's accurate discrimination; Professor Whewell of ditto.—Butler's remarks upon imputation of obscurity of style.—Resigns the Preachership at the Rolls.—Retirement at Stanhope.—Is employed upon the *Analogy*.—Secker strives to bring him out of his retirement.—Queen Caroline's enquiry about him.—Butler appointed Chaplain to Lord Chancellor.—His father, Thomas Butler, dies.—Takes his degree of D.C.L.—Appointed Clerk of the Closet to the Queen.—Presented to a Stall at Rochester.—Commanded to attend the Queen every evening.—Discussions carried on in her presence.—Death and Character of Queen Caroline.—Her preference of George II. to Emperor of Austria.—Anecdote of her devotion to her Husband.

When Butler had taken possession of his benefice at Haughton, he discovered that, from the dilapidated state of the parsonage, the whole, or a considerable portion of it, required to be rebuilt. Although an undertaking of this nature was neither in unison with his taste, nor adapted to his finances, he commenced his preparations for the work by expending the amount he received for dilapidations, with a considerable addition of his own, in laying in the necessary materials. His

receipt to the representative of his predecessor will show how inadequate the stipulated sum was for the accomplishment of the design he had in view.

"August 25, 1722.

"I, Joseph Butler, Rector of Haughton, do promise Mr. Thomas Bellassyse, a full discharge of all dilapidations belonging to the Rectory of Haughton, upon his payment of the sum of Sixty Pounds.

"Test. M. NELSON." "JOSEPH BUTLER."

Before Butler, however, had become actually involved in the toils, and, as too many of his brethren have found, the embarrassing consequences of building, the vigilance of Secker, opened a way for his escape. Secker's attachment led him to regard the interest of his Tewkesbury colleague as his own; and having obtained the ear of their common patron, Bishop Talbot, he solicited that prelate to allow his friend to exchange Haughton for the richer benefice of Stanhope, where there was a parsonage in suitable repair. To the request of Secker, the bishop, recollecting the warm affection which his deceased son entertained for Butler, and observing the growing esteem in which he was held by those who listened to his pulpit addresses at the Rolls, yielded his cheerful consent, and presented him to the rectory of Stanhope.

Upon the removal of Butler to Stanhope, which was in the same diocese, in 1725, the

materials he had collected for his projected building, at Haughton, were taken by his successor, Mr. Thorpe, and employed by him in repairing the parsonage. Thus terminated the anxiety of Secker for his friend; who, by this exchange of preferment, received so large an accession of income, as to enable him to indulge more liberally, the natural benevolence of his disposition, by relieving the distressed, and ministering to the wants of others. At this period, the last trace of pecuniary assistance received by him from his family at Wantage, appears in his memoranda book, in an entry, bearing the date of January, 1725; "Received of my brother, 100*l.*"

When Butler became the incumbent of a country parish, in 1722, it was his custom, until his resignation of the preachership of the Rolls, in 1726, to divide the year between his duties in the metropolis, and those at his living; nor was he more diligent and laborious in his pulpit preparations for his learned London auditory, than assiduous and kind in his attentions to his rustic parishioners.

Early in the year 1726, Mr. Butler published *Fifteen Sermons, preached at the Rolls Chapel,* and dedicated them to Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, &c.

Although these sermons were selected without any particular reason, "their being taken," as the author informs us, "from amongst others

preached in the same place, through a course of eight years, being in a great measure accidental," they have been regarded, by the learned of all denominations, as containing such a fund of discriminating principles, lying at the root of Christian morals, as would be sought for in vain in the writings of any other theologian. Sir James Mackintosh, in his *Ethical Philosophy*, observes, "In these sermons, he has taught truths more capable of being exactly distinguished from the doctrines of his predecessors, more satisfactorily established by him, more comprehensively applied to particulars, more rationally connected with each other, and therefore more worthy of the name of *discovery*, than any with which we are acquainted."

But that which may be termed his grand discovery in morals, is the manner in which he has unfolded and exhibited the *supremacy of conscience*, in his *Three Sermons on Human Nature*. Upon this, Dr. Chalmers, in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, remarks:—"Bishop Butler has often been spoken of as the first discoverer of this great principle in our nature; though, perhaps, no man can properly be said to discover what all men are conscious of. But certain it is, that he is the first who hath made it the subject of a full and reflex cognizance. It forms the argument of his three first sermons, in a volume which may safely be pronounced, *the most precious repository of sound ethical principles extant in any language*."

"The authority of conscience," says Dugald Stewart, "although beautifully described by many of the ancient moralists, was not sufficiently attended to by modern writers, as a fundamental principle in the science of ethics, till the time of Dr. Butler."—Vol. i., p. 68.

Upon the same point, an eminent American divine, Dr. Francis Weyland, President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral Philosophy, having stated, in the preface to his *Elements of Moral Science*, that he had found it necessary to discontinue Dr. Paley's work as a text-book, and to prepare distinct lectures, thus expresses himself: "The author to whom I am under the greatest obligation, is Bishop Butler. The chapter on conscience, is, as I suppose, but little more than a development of his ideas on the same subject. How much more I owe to this incomparable writer, I know not. As it was the study of his sermons on human nature that first turned my attention to this subject, there are, doubtless, many trains of thought which I have derived from him that I am not able to trace back to their source, as they have long since become incorporated with my own reflections."—P. 5. third ed. Boston. 1836.

In a similar manner, the learned Dr. O'Brien, Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity, in the University of Dublin, in p. 10 of the Advertisement of his valuable *Sermons on the Human Nature of Christ*, observes "If upon the points

of which I treat I seem to owe any thing to any writer who supports the same views, I have no mode of fixing the obligation, so as to make as particular an acknowledgment of it as I should desire. But I can be quite clear that I owe a deep debt throughout, to the illustrious Bishop Butler: and I am ready and anxious to acknowledge, that I trace so distinctly to his writings, the origin of the soundest and clearest views that I possess upon the nature of the human mind, that I could not write on this or any kindred subject, without a consciousness that I was, directly or indirectly, borrowing largely from him."

Neither does Dr. Chalmers hesitate to make an acknowledgment of the same character. "I have derived greater aid," he says, "from the views and reasonings of Bishop Butler, than I have been able to find besides, in the whole range of our existent authorship." — Preface to the *Bridgewater Treatise.*

The *Edinburgh Review*, in its article upon American literature, in 1829, when speaking of some Sermons of the Unitarian Dr. Channing, observes, "In the line of argument adopted by our author, there is a strong reflection of the original and masterly views of the innate capacity of the soul for piety and goodness, insisted upon in Bishop Butler's Sermons. There is much in the above train of thought, *silently borrowed from this profound work.*"—Vol. L., p. 138. The use,

however, which Dr. Channing makes of Butler's principles, and his eulogium on human nature, are by no means such as Butler would have approved. Not taking the same Scriptural views of the great doctrines of the fall and recovery of man, he was incapable of carrying out Butler's principles to their full extent, and legitimate application.

Of the nice discrimination shown by the author of the *Fifteen Sermons*, in his treatment of the difference between the gratification of an appetite or passion, and the end for which it is implanted in our natural constitution, Dr. Chalmers again remarks, "There is an important discrimination made by Bishop Butler in his Sermons: and by the help of which, this phenomenon of apparent contradiction or mystery in our nature, may be satisfactorily explained. He distinguishes between the final object of any of our desires, and the pleasure attendant on, or rather inseparable from, its gratification. The object is not the pleasure, though the pleasure be an unfailing and essential accompaniment on the attainment of the object. This is well illustrated by the appetite of hunger, of which it were more proper to say that it seeks for food, than that it seeks for the pleasure which there is in eating the food. The food is the object: the pleasure is the accompaniment. We do not here speak of the distinct and secondary pleasure which there is in the taste of food, but of that other pleasure, which strictly and properly attaches to

the gratification of the appetite of hunger. This is the pleasure, or relief, which accompanies the act of eating; while the ultimate object, the object in which the appetite rests and terminates, is the food itself. The same is true of all our special affections. Each has a proper and peculiar object of its own; and the mere pleasure attendant on the prosecution, or the indulgence of the affection, is not, as has been clearly established by Butler, and fully re-asserted by Dr. Thomas Brown, that object. The two are as distinct from each other, as a thing loved is distinct from the pleasure of loving it. Every special inclination has its special and counterpart object. The object of the inclination is one thing, the pleasure of gratifying the inclination is another; and, in most instances, it were more proper to say, that it is for the sake of the object, than for the sake of the pleasure, that the inclination is gratified. The distinction that we now urge, though felt to be a subtle, is truly a substantial one: and pregnant both with important principle and important application. *The discovery and clear statement of it by Butler may well be regarded as the highest service rendered by any philosopher to moral science;* and that, from the light which it casts, both on the processes of the human constitution, and on the theory of virtue. As one example of the latter service, the principle in question, so plainly and convincingly unfolded by this great Christian phi-

losopher in his sermon on the love of our neighbour, strikes, and with most conclusive effect, at the root of the selfish system of morals; a system which professes that man's sole object, in the practice of all the various moralities, is his own individual advantage."—Vol. i., p. 108.

The Reverend William Whewell, the distinguished Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, in his preface to a course of Sermons preached before the University, in allusion to Butler's *Fifteen Sermons* as exhibiting a sounder system of morals than Paley, observes in his preface, "The writer whom I have adduced, as the principal representative of a better system than Paley's, is Bishop Butler. Butler has delivered no *system* of morals; and (in the part of his works here referred to) is employed mainly in the discussion of the fundamental principle of the subject. It is on this very account that he appears to many readers an obscure and vague writer. For the show of clearness is easily acquired by him who has to trace into its consequences a principle already admitted or assumed; but the effort by which we obtain possession of the peculiar idea involved in a new principle, is hard to communicate in a precise manner. Butler has, however, treated his subject in a way which will hardly fail to convey his meaning to an attentive reader; and especially to one who considers the various phrases which the author

employs as so many different modes of pointing to that peculiar idea, of an absolute law of action, which is the basis of an independent morality: as for example, when he speaks of man 'being a law to himself;' of a difference in kind among man's principles of action as well as a difference of strength; of an internal constitution, on which conscience has a natural and rightful supremacy; and other forms of expression."

He says again, "In the mean time, till such a system appears, we may, I conceive, find, in the study of Butler's works, much that may, to a certain provisory extent, answer our purpose. For Butler's view of the office of the various principles of action in man, and of the mode in which his moral constitution determines his duties, is very consistently and closely, though not completely, exhibited in his *Sermons*. The first three sermons, upon Human Nature, the fifth and sixth, upon Compassion, the eighth and ninth, upon Resentment, the eleventh and twelfth, on the Love of our Neighbour, and the thirteenth and fourteenth, on the Love of God, give a view of a large portion of this constitution, and of the resulting duties."

Secker endeavoured to render Butler's style in his *Fifteen Sermons*, more familiar, and his meaning more obvious, but they were nevertheless, by many termed obscure. It must, however, be borne in mind, that a subject may require deep attention, without being necessarily obscure. "No one," as

Dr. Samuel Clarke observed, in allusion to this charge, "ever imputed obscurity to *Euclid's Elements*. Difficulties they may have, but difficulties soon mastered by the degree of attention which such subjects require."

Aware of the imputation of obscurity, then, and wishing to place his justification on record, in the preface to the second edition of the *Sermons*, dated "Stanhope, September 16, 1729," Butler thus refers to the subject.

"It is very unallowable for a work of imagination or entertainment not to be of easy comprehension; but it may be unavoidable in a work of another kind, where a man is not to form or accommodate, but to state things as he finds them.

"It must be acknowledged, that some of the following discourses are very abstruse and difficult; or, if you please, obscure; but I must take leave to add, that those alone are judges, whether or no and how far this is a fault, who are judges, whether or no and how far it might have been avoided,—those only who will be at the trouble to understand what is here said, and to see how far the things here insisted upon, and not other things, might have been put in a plainer manner; which yet I am very far from asserting that they could not. Thus much, however, will be allowed, that general criticisms concerning obscurity, considered as a distinct thing from confusion and perplexity of thought, as in some cases there may be ground

for them; so in others, they may be nothing more at the bottom than complaints, that every thing is to be understood with the same ease that some things are. Confusion and perplexity in writing is indeed without excuse, because any one may, if he pleases, know whether he understands and sees through what he is about: and it is unpardonable for a man to lay his thoughts before others, when he is conscious that he himself does not know whereabouts he is, or how the matter before him stands. It is coming abroad in disorder, which he ought to be dissatisfied to find himself in at home."

It may be observed, that the depth of Butler's inquiries necessarily brings him into contact with truths of a still less fathomable order than those of which he treats, and the bare allusion to which gives an appearance of obscurity to what might otherwise be clear. How far his excursive mind travelled into these yet more abstruse questions in those other sermons, out of which the fifteen published discourses were selected, is a point which until lately there were some hopes of ascertaining, by the discovery of manuscript sermons which were supposed to be still in existence, but for which all search has hitherto proved fruitless.

Early in the autumn of 1726, Butler resigned his preachership at the Rolls; after which he left the metropolis, and resided wholly, during a period of seven years, at his parish of Stanhope. There is an entry in his memoranda book, of

money collected at the Sacrament, at the Rolls Chapel, July 12, 1726, which is the last allusion to his connexion with that place, and probably immediately preceded his retirement from his office. While resident at Stanhope, he employed himself assiduously in the various duties which devolve upon a faithful parish priest. Bringing every action to the test of conscience, and alive to the truth, which he laboured to impress upon others, that, "when we have done all, we are unprofitable servants," he was "instant in season and out of season, to reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." His labours, however, were not entirely confined to the pastoral care of his parish; for, it was during the retirement, which his seclusion from the engagements of public life afforded him, at Stanhope, that he perfected the frame-work, and advanced the superstructure of that grand moral edifice, (the *Analogy of Religion to the constitution and course of Nature*, which will be more particularly spoken of hereafter, and) which will mainly contribute to hand down the name of Butler to the latest posterity, as one of the greatest benefactors to the cause of Christianity, which any age or nation has produced.

That retirement, however, which operated so favourably upon the prosecution of his great work; and which permitted him to follow out, calmly and patiently, the leadings of his vigorous mind,

into those intricate paths of metaphysical inquiry, which could scarcely have been prosecuted with the same success under different circumstances, began to operate injuriously upon his health and spirits. There were seasons when he painfully felt the loss of the select society of friends, amongst whom he was accustomed to mingle with the utmost cheerfulness, and to unbend his mind from his severer studies.

His ever-watchful friend Secker, therefore, no sooner perceived that his retirement was becoming too solitary for his own comfort, than he felt anxious to withdraw him from it; and to see him again engaged in some more active and conspicuous employment. Having formed this desire, Secker immediately began to adopt measures for its attainment. Wherever he deemed it probable that the object at which he aimed might be promoted, he there, without hesitation, entered upon the subject; nor did he relinquish his efforts until he had communicated his wishes to the ears of royalty.

In 1732, Secker was appointed chaplain to the king, and having, on Sunday the 27th of August of the same year, preached in his turn before the queen, her Majesty shortly afterwards commanded his attendance in her closet, and honoured him with a long and gracious conversation; when he availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him to speak of his friend Butler. Upon the queen remarking, that "she thought Mr. Butler

had been dead," Secker assured her that he was not dead, but that he was immured in the retirement of a country parish when his splendid talents ought to have a wider field for their exercise. Upon her Majesty afterwards inquiring of Archbishop Blackburn, whether Butler was not dead, the witty prelate replied, " No, madam, he is not *dead*, but *buried*." Not, however, meeting with immediate success in this high quarter, and persevering in his purpose of accomplishing his friend's *disinterment*, when Mr. Charles Talbot, the brother of Edward Talbot, was made lord chancellor, Secker easily prevailed upon him to nominate Butler as his chaplain. This appointment Butler accepted, upon an express understanding with his patron that he should be still allowed to reside half the year upon his benefice, instead of being wholly withdrawn from the superintendence of his parish. It was towards the close of his exclusive residence at Stanhope, that a domestic calamity concurred, with his retired and sedentary habits, to increase that depression of spirits which had alarmed the friendly vigilance of Secker.

In the summer of 1731, his father, Thomas Butler, died, leaving Joseph and his eldest brother Robert joint executors of his will. This will, which bears the date of September 28, 1728, and of which the probate was admitted July 21, 1731, commences as follows:—" In the name of God, amen. I, Thomas Butler, of Wantage, in the

county of Berks, gentleman, being mindful of death, and the uncertainty of the time thereof, do dispose of that worldly estate with which it hath pleased God to bless me, in the following manner: viz., I give and devise to my sons, Robert and Joseph, (whom I appoint joint executors of this my last will and testament,) and to their executors, administrators, and assigns for ever, all my messuages, tenements, and lands, with the appurtenances, which I hold by lease from the dean and canons of Windsor; and all my other estates, household goods, debts, and credits whatsoever," &c. Having then directed that his debts and funeral expenses might be paid, and also charged his property with an annuity for life for each of his daughters, and with legacies to his grandchildren, the will concludes with a bequest to the poor of Wantage, to be distributed in sixpenny household loaves.

The appointment of Butler as chaplain to the lord chancellor Talbot, having rendered it necessary that he should proceed to the metropolis, he passed through Oxford on his way from the north, and there, on the 8th of December, 1733, was admitted to the degree of D. C. L.

Being thus, at length, withdrawn from the seclusion of his country benefice, and brought under the observation of those in power, the piety and talents of Dr. Butler speedily attracted the notice of the queen, through whose commanding influ-

ence the way was preparing for his advancement to the high dignities to which he was subsequently elevated. Early in the summer of 1736 her Majesty appointed him her clerk of the closet; an office, which, while it afforded him frequent opportunities of conversing with his royal mistress, was the means of his being honoured with a large share of her esteem and confidence. The first official act which he performed in his new capacity appears, from his own memoranda, to have been, that of administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper privately to the queen, at Kensington, on the 4th of July in that year. On July 16, of this same year, Butler was presented, by the chancellor, to a prebendal stall at Rochester, of which he took possession upon the 7th of August. He was elected Vice-Dean, November 25, 1738, when he is described as Bishop of Bristol. His name appears in the chapter books at Rochester until June 1740, after which, the name of Mr. Lawry stands in its place.

Queen Caroline, whose piety and acquirements enabled her to distinguish and appreciate the learning and piety of those around her, was so struck with the rich stores of Butler's mind, and so desirous to avail herself of the treasures which that mine of intellectual wealth poured forth, that she requested his attendance, by her especial command, in the evening of every day from the hour of seven until nine, for the purpose of

conversation upon philosophical and theological subjects.

Amongst the distinguished divines, who were oftentimes summoned on these occasions, were, Berkeley, Clarke, Hoadley, Sherlock, and Secker. Berkeley and Clarke were opposed to each other upon their respective metaphysical theories; and, during the discussion of the points of difference between them, Hoadley invariably supported the views of the latter, while Sherlock was rather disposed to favour the speculations of the former. In the absence of evidence upon the subject, it is not difficult to conceive that Butler, although younger than the leading combatants, might occasionally act as *moderator*, and be inclined to repress the excursive flights of the imaginative Berkeley, by adducing arguments more in accordance with the general theory of Dr. Clarke.

Were it possible to have listened to the discussions which were then carried on, in the presence of the mother of the people, when topics of weighty import would be treated with the calm and serious dignity which became their high importance, it might have furnished perhaps a contrast, as striking as it would be edifying, when compared with the feverish spirit of party rivalries, and with the ordinary topics of party ambition, which too often harass and distract the abodes of royalty.

The intercourse of Butler with this accomplished and excellent queen, was however of short

duration. She died on the 20th of November, 1737, of a mortification in the bowels, in the fifty-fifth year of her age; "regretted," says the political historian, "as a princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue."—(Smollet) And "lamented," it may be added by the Christian historian, as "a nursing mother" to the Church, while her memory will be honoured as one, who, having acknowledged "the fear of the Lord to be the beginning of wisdom," shall "shine among the wise, as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever."

Queen Caroline was of the house of Brandenburg, and received her education under the direction of the queen of Prussia. She refused an alliance with the emperor of Austria, because she could not conscientiously unite herself with a Roman Catholic; and she preferred becoming the consort of George II., because he had early distinguished himself as the firm supporter of Protestant principles. Great numbers of poor persons were employed by her in various kinds of work; and her charities amounted to nearly one-fifth of her income. Many individuals, who subsisted upon her bounty, were wholly ignorant of their benefactress. The king, at her decease, ordered her charitable pensions, amounting to 13,000*l.* per annum, to be continued: and, also, the salaries of her household, until they were suitably provided for.

The last official act recorded by Butler, in reference to his justly venerated sovereign, was similar

to the first, the private administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to her at Hampton Court, on the 2nd of October, a few weeks only previous to her decease.

The following proof of her self-denying attention to the wishes of her royal husband, is recorded in the *Reminiscences of Lord Orford*:—"Though labouring with so dangerous a complaint, she made it so invariable a rule never to refuse a desire of the king, that every morning at Richmond she walked several miles with him, and more than once, when she had the gout in her foot, she dipped her whole leg in cold water to be ready to attend him. The pain, her bulk, and the exercise, threw her into such fits of perspiration as vented the gout, but those exertions hastened the crisis of her distemper."—Vol. iv. p. 307.

The stipend which Butler received as clerk of the closet to the queen, was about 49*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* each quarter: and this appears to have been continued to him after the demise of his royal mistress, until his consecration, at the close of the following year, to the see of Bristol. The expenses he incurred, however, by his attendance upon the court, were considerably greater than the amount of his stipend. No apartments were appropriated for his use in the palace, and there are consequently entries of the following nature amongst his memoranda: "For lodgings at Kensington, 36*l.*; for lodgings at Hampton Court, 25*l.*," &c. &c.

CHAPTER III.

The *Analogy* published.—Hurd's remark on Secker.—Wrangham on the *Analogy*.—*Quarterly Review* on ditto.—Butler's account of his plan in writing it.—Bishop Halifax on Analogical reasoning.—Bishop Wilson on ditto.—Ditto on the *Analogy*.—Dr. Parr's opinion of Butler.—Observations on ditto, in *Lives of Illustrious Englishmen*.—*Analogy* translated into Latin.—Sir James Mackintosh on ditto.—Analogical reasoning of a South-Sea islander.—Anecdote of Butler's nephew and the *Analogy*.—Remarks on portions of the *Analogy*, by Philanthropus.—Ditto by W. Belchier, Esq.—The germ of the *Analogy* found in the opening of sermon on Compassion.—Design of Compendium of the *Analogy*.

It was during the year 1736, and soon after the appointment of Butler in the household of the queen, that his great work, *The Analogy*, left the press, and astonished the world by the cogency of its reasoning, and the depth of its research. The advertisement, prefixed to the first edition, bears the date of May in the above year; and before the expiration of the same year, a second corrected edition issued from the press, "Printed for John and Paul Knapton, at the Crown, in Ludgate Street."

Archbishop Secker is supposed to have lent his aid in attempting to render Butler's style in his *Analogy* more simple, as he did in reference to his *Fifteen Sermons*, and the preface to the

second edition of them. But he did more than this; for so impressed was he with the importance and originality of Butler's views, as developed in that celebrated treatise, that he made them the foundation of a series of discourses delivered by himself from the pulpit. It was this which led Bishop Hurd to remark, when contrasting Secker with Bishop Lowth, "Dr. Secker's chief merit, and surely it was a very great one, lay in explaining clearly and popularly, in his sermons, the principles delivered by his friend Bishop Butler, in his famous book of the *Analogy*, and showing the important use of them in religion."—*Warburton's Works*, 8vo., vol. i. p. 69.

The Rev. F. Wrangham*, in his advertisement of a small edition of the principal parts of Butler's *Analogy* abridged, observes that, "That work, which on its appearance was justly received with the highest applause, is to this day universally regarded as a masterpiece of the kind, and has been long recommended to students of divinity, both in the Universities, and in dissenting academies, as the best exercise of the reasoning powers." (June 11, 1820).

Butler may be said to resemble the man who has discovered a mine of unwrought metal, which is capable of almost unlimited expansion, and of profitable adaptation to a great variety of purposes. Upon the importance of the principles he

* Archdeacon of the East-Riding of Yorkshire, &c.

has laid down, in their application to the difficulties of geological phenomena, are the following observations, in an elaborate article upon the *Transactions* of the Geological Society, in the 34th vol. of the *Quarterly Review*. The writer thus concludes: "When we have ascertained that animals of that class in which the type of our physical organization is so unequivocally developed, existed at distant, though not the most remote periods in the history of our planet, and that a scheme, of which man forms an inseparable part, is of such high antiquity, the remarks of Bishop Butler on the connexion of the course of things which come within our view, with the past, the present, and the future, are forcibly recalled to our recollection. 'We are placed,' he observes, 'in the middle of a scheme, not a fixed, but a progressive one, every way incomprehensible, incomprehensible in a manner equally with respect to what has been, what now is, and what shall be hereafter.' (*Anal.* 167.) Indeed, no department of science has ever illustrated and confirmed the line of argument adopted by that truly philosophical writer, in a more satisfactory manner than geology. Relations between different portions of the system, however distant, are proved sometimes to subsist, and to extend even from extinct, to living races of plants and animals. Sources of apparent derangement in the system appear, when their operation throughout a series of ages is brought into one view, to have produced

a great preponderance of good, and to be governed by fixed general laws, conducive, perhaps essential, to the preservation of the habitable state of the globe. If the analogy between the constitution and government of the natural and moral worlds, supposed by Butler, be admitted as highly credible, the certainty that the former, so far as regards this planet, is a scheme of infinitely greater extent than we before had reason to imagine, greatly strengthens the presumption, that of the latter also, we as yet survey but an insignificant part; and that if the whole could be seen and comprehended by us, difficulties insurmountable by human reason, which now present themselves to every contemplative mind, would disappear; for 'things which we call irregularities, may not be so at all;' (*Anal.* 157) and 'some unknown relation, or some unknown impossibility, may render what is objected against, just and good; nay, good in the highest practicable degree.' (*Anal.* 158.) In a word, the further we advance in the study of each branch of natural philosophy, the more our admiration of the grandeur and variety of nature's operations is called forth, while proofs of design and contrivance in all her works, are multiplied. We are, moreover, continually rendered sensible, how insignificant is the sum of all we know, in comparison with what remains unknown; and this observation applies with peculiar force to the investigations of geology; constituting, indeed,

one of the main attractions which recommend that study to our attention. 'It is not easy,' says Butler, 'even for the most reasonable men always to bear in mind the degree of our ignorance.' (*Anal.* 158.) *That* ignorance affords a full and satisfactory answer to all objections, against the perfection of the scheme, whether in the natural or of the moral world, and thence against the wisdom, justice, and benevolence of the common parent and preserver of them both."

These sensible remarks are well adapted to moderate the enterprising and unhallowed spirit of speculative inquiry, which, insidiously sapping the foundations of revealed truth, would recklessly overthrow Christianity itself, in order to vindicate some favourite theory.

In a review, in the *Quarterly*, of the works and character of Paley, (Vol. xxxviii., 1828, p. 307), the following allusion to the *Analogy* will be found. After referring to the growing infidelity of the times, the writer observes, "Meanwhile, some partial efforts had been made to bring the nation to a better mind, and not altogether without success. The 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge' grew out of this grievous lack of it; and individuals, too, had begun to bestir themselves in exorcising the land. Now Bishop Butler sent forth his immortal *Analogy;* a work too thoughtful for the flippant taste of the sceptical school, and indeed, only to be duly appre-

ciated after much and patient meditation. It is not a short line that will fathom Butler. Let a hundred readers sit down to the examination of the *Analogy*, and, however various the associations of thought excited in their minds by the perusal, (whether as objections or otherwise), they will find on examination that Butler has been beforehand with them in all. This may not at first strike them. Often it will discover itself in a hint, overlooked, perhaps, in a first reading, dropped by Butler in the profusion of his matter, as it were, to show, that he was aware of what might be said, but that he had better game on foot; and still more often will it be traced, in the caution with which he selects an expression, not perhaps the obvious expression, such, indeed, as to a superficial reader may seem an unaccountable circumlocution, or an ungraceful stiffness of language. In all these cases, he is evidently glancing at an argument, or parrying an objection of some kind or other, that had been lurking about him; objections and arguments which may sometimes present themselves to us at once, but which very frequently are latent till the undercurrent of our thoughts happens to set in with Butler's, and throws them up. We have heard persons talk of the obscurity of Bishop Butler's style, and lament that his book was not re-written by some more luminous master of language. We have always suspected that such critics knew very little about the *Analogy*. We

would have no sacrilegious hand touch it. It would be like officious meddling with a well-considered move at chess. We should change a word in it with the caution of men expounding hieroglyphics,—it has a meaning, but *we* have not hit upon it; *others* may, or we ourselves may, *at another time.* The *Analogy* is a work carefully and closely packed up, out of twenty years' hard thinking. It must have filled folios, had its illustrious author taken less time to concoct it; for never was there a stronger instance of the truth of the observation, that it requires far more time to make a small book than a large one. For ourselves, whether we consider it as directly corroborative of the scheme of Christianity, by showing its consistency with natural religion, or whether, (which is, perhaps, its most important aspect,) as an answer to those objections which may be brought against Christianity, arising out of the difficulties involved in it, we look upon the *Analogy* of Bishop Butler, as the work, above all others, on which the mind can repose with the most entire satisfaction, and faith found itself, as on a rock."

Dr. Butler remarked to a friend, that his plan in writing the *Analogy* had been, "to endeavour to answer, as he went along, every possible objection that might occur to any one against any position of his, in his book." "This way of arguing, from what is acknowledged to what is disputed,"

observes Bishop Halifax, "from things known to other things that resemble them, from that part of the Divine establishment which is exposed to our view to that more important one which lies beyond it, is on all hands confessed to be just. By this method Sir Isaac Newton has unfolded the system of nature; by the same method, Bishop Butler has explained the system of grace; and thus, to use the words of a writer whom I quote with pleasure, 'has formed and concluded a happy alliance between faith and philosophy.'"—*Mainwaring's Dissertation.*

The Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Wilson, too, in his Introductory Essay upon Butler's *Analogy*, thus speaks of the importance of analogical reasoning, not only to silence the infidel, but to encourage and establish the mind of the believer:

"When the external and internal evidences of Christianity seem cold, and ineffective, and barren, the analogical precisely meet his feelings. The full and adequate repose which they inspire, is a calm after a storm. The relief is more sensible, from being unexpected. For, somehow or other, the mind, at times, appears quite hedged in with fears and speculations. The state of misery in which the world lies, the prevalence of moral evil, the immense majority of the human race sunk in pagan ignorance—the trials of good men—the prosperity of the wicked—the slow progress of truth and reason; these, and a thousand like

matters, perplex, too frequently, the benevolent and reflecting mind of the Christian. He is quite astonished that an All-wise and All-gracious Creator should leave a revelation with so little efficacy attending it. He thinks that he can never obtain satisfaction upon these questions. He has forgotten the arguments which formerly silenced his scruples, and his faith is ready to fail him. The analogical argument then occurs to his distracted thoughts—he reads it as if he had never read it before—it seems new, forcible, conclusive—his proud reasonings sink—faith resumes her sway—humility acknowledges the ignorance and littleness of man, before the incomprehensible plans of the infinite God—his state of probation and discipline forces itself upon his notice—the traces of the same Divine Governor, in the natural and moral world, are again seen and recognised—and the satisfaction he thus regains is more than can be expressed. In proportion as the difficulties appeared insuperable, is the removal of them consoling and vivifying."—P. 100.

Of the powers of mind brought by Butler to the discussion of his great theme, and of the manner in which he performed the task, Bishop Wilson thus forcibly remarks, in the opening of his Essay:

"Bishop Butler is one of those creative geniuses, who give a character to their times. His great work, *The Analogy of Religion*, has fixed the

admiration of all competent judges for nearly a century, and will continue to be studied, so long as the language in which he wrote endures. The mind of a master pervades it. The author chose a theme infinitely important, and he has treated it with a skill, a force, a novelty and talent, which have left little for others to do after him. He opened the mine, and exhausted it himself. A discretion which never oversteps the line of prudence, is in him united with a penetration which nothing can escape. There is, in his writings, a vastness of idea, a reach and generalization of reasoning, a native simplicity and grandeur of thought which command and fill the mind. At the same time his illustrations are so striking and familiar, as to instruct as well as persuade. Nothing is violent, nothing far-fetched, nothing pushed beyond its fair limits, nothing fanciful, or weak; a masculine power of argument runs through the whole. All bespeaks that repose of mind, that tranquillity which springs from a superior understanding, and an intimate acquaintance with every part of his subject. He grasps firmly his topic, and insensibly communicates to his reader the calmness and conviction which he possesses himself. He embraces with equal ease, the greatest and the smallest points connected with his argument. He often throws out, as he goes along, some general principle which seems to cost him no labour, and yet which opens a

whole field of contemplation before the view of the reader.

"Butler was a philosopher in the true sense of the term. He searches for wisdom wherever he can discern its traces. He puts forth the keenest sagacity, in his pursuit of his great object, and never turns aside till he reaches, and seizes it. Patient, silent, unobtrusive investigation was his forte. His powers of invention were as fruitful as his judgment was sound. Probably, no book in the compass of theology is so full of '*the seeds of things*,' to use the expression of a kindred genius, (Lord Bacon,) as the *Analogy*.

"He was a man raised up for the age in which he lived. The wits and infidels of the reign of our second Charles had deluged the land with the most unfair, and yet plausible writings, against Christianity. A certain fearlessness as to religion seemed to prevail. There was a general decay of piety and zeal. Many persons treated Christianity as if it were an agreed point amongst all people of discernment, that it had been found out to be fictitious. The method taken by these enemies of Christianity, was to magnify and urge objections, more or less plausible, against particular doctrines or precepts, which were represented as forming a part of it; and which, to a thoughtless mind, were easily made to appear extravagant, incredible, and irrational. They professed to admit the Being and Attributes of the Almighty; but they

maintained that human reason was sufficient for the discovery and establishment of this fundamental truth, as well as for the developement of those moral precepts by which the conduct of life should be regulated; and they boldly asserted that so many objections and difficulties might be urged against Christianity, as to exclude it from being admitted as divine, by any thoughtful and enlightened person.

"These assertions Butler undertook to refute. He was a man formed for such a task. He knew thoroughly what he was about. He had a mind to weigh objections, and to trace, detect, and silence cavils. Accordingly, he came forward in all the self-possession, and dignity, and meekness of truth, to meet the infidel on his own ground. He takes the admission of the unbeliever, that God is the Creator and Ruler of the natural world, as a principle conceded. From this point, he sets forward, and pursues a course of argument, so cautious, so solid, so forcible; and yet so diversified, so original, so convincing; as to carry along with him, almost insensibly, those who have once put themselves under his guidance. His insight into the constitution and course of nature, is almost intuitive; and the application of his knowledge is so surprisingly skilful and forcible, as to silence or to satisfy every fair antagonist. He traces out every objection with a deliberation which nothing can disturb; and shows the falla-

cies from whence they spring, with a precision and acuteness which overwhelm and charm the reader.

"Accordingly, students of all descriptions have long united in the praise of Butler. He is amongst the few classic authors of the first rank in modern literature. He takes his place with Bacon, and Pascal, and Newton; those mighty geniuses who opened new sources of information, on the most important subjects, and commanded the love and gratitude of mankind."

It is, perhaps, only candid to add, that the laborious and exemplary prelate, from whose pen this testimony proceeded, expresses his regret, that Bishop Butler did not infuse into his treatise more of the warmth of spiritual feeling, and that he did not carry his argument to a greater length. Bishop Wilson appears to be of opinion, that the argument of Butler was "of easy adaptation to the practice and experience of religion in all its extent."—p. 106. "It is impossible," he says, (p. 145,) "not to see with what ease a writer who has proceeded so far, and conducted us so securely to a certain point, would have gone on in the course he was pursuing, till he had embraced the vast compass of experimental and practical religion, and had thus left behind him a monument, not only of triumph over objections against the general scheme of Christianity, but of victory over those prejudices, and that tame acquiescence which too

often obscure the real doctrine of our recovery, as we have ventured to delineate it."

In reply to this, it may be observed, that the object of Butler was to grapple with an insidious, but at the same time, a bold and unblushing infidelity. He therefore pursued his argument so far only as he could illustrate it by plain and forcible analogies,—such analogies as could not be denied by the most obstinate unbeliever. The moment he ceased to perceive and feel that his ground was *unquestionable*, he desisted. A less cautious reasoner would have gone further; and by exhibiting the latter branches of his treatise with diminished force and distinctness, would perhaps have weakened the impression, and neutralized the design of the whole argument.

The remark of Bishop Wilson, in reference to the *Analogy*, that, "probably no book in the compass of theology is *so full of the seeds of things*," is strikingly just; but the observation may be extended to the *Fifteen Sermons*, and even to Butler's juvenile production, the *Letters to Dr. Clarke*. The correctness of the remark in allusion to the sermons is shown, by the direct testimonies to the fact, which have been adduced from the writings of some of the most eminent men of the age. And the following note, from page 20 of the *Supplement to the Biographia Britannica*, will show that "*the seeds of things*" were also to be found in the correspondence with

Dr. Clarke. "Thus," it states, "ended this amicable controversy. But we cannot conclude without observing, in justice to Butler, that, in his objections to Dr. C.'s notion of the nature of space and duration, which include his dissatisfaction with the argument *à priori, he raised the first battery against that argument;* and though from modesty, and youth, he forbore to push his strength to the utmost, yet he has been followed by others who have attacked it in so formidable a manner, that, in the opinion of many learned men, it has been absolutely demolished."

Amongst those who planted their artillery upon the battery erected by Butler, and from thence made it bear against the theory of Dr. Clarke, were Mr. Grattan, Mr. Law, and Dr. Waterland, &c. This subject is noticed in *Waterland's Works*, vol. i. p. 141, 142.

It was the extraordinary penetration displayed by Butler, whatever subject he handled, and the deep and accurate knowledge which uniformly characterized his writings, that led the learned Dr. Samuel Parr, in a letter to Dr. Milner, to term him, "one of the most profound philosophers, and most enlightened theologians, that ever adorned the Church of England."

In a sketch of Butler, in the *Lives of Eminent and Illustrious Englishmen*, published at Glasgow in 1836, are some remarks upon his works, by a writer who does not hesitate, with honesty and

freedom, to state his ground of difference with the bishop. His observation upon Butler's conformity to the Church of England, shows, that his sympathy with Presbyterianism, the established religion of Scotland, is not deeper than that which he feels for the national establishment of this country. He says, "The accession of so illustrious a proselyte has, of course, been celebrated with the loudest exultation by the apologists of the English hierarchy. But, without detracting one particle from the acknowledged acumen and piety of Butler, no intelligent advocate of *independency* will find much to wonder at in this conversion, which the zealots of episcopacy have, 'voiced so regardfully.'"

Notwithstanding his points of difference with Butler, however, as a dissenter of the Independent denomination, this writer's remarks upon the works of that great man possess both discrimination and candour.

Of the *Fifteen Sermons*, he observes,—"Of these sermons, considered as disquisitions on the philosophy of morals and religion, it is difficult to speak in terms of proper and commensurate commendation. They exhibit a rare combination of nearly all the excellencies of which compositions of this class are susceptible, and are, generally, remarkably free from most of the defects and blemishes of abstrusely argumentative sermons.

"The preface and the first three sermons are

chiefly occupied with discussions on the nature and authority of conscience, and on the social nature of man. It is surprising with what depth, comprehensiveness, and clearness he has succeeded in treating these subjects, the native obscurity of which has, in every age, been so greatly augmented, in part by the errors of the wise and the good, but chiefly by the 'perverse disputings' of the licentious. We greatly doubt whether there is any thing of importance in the settlement of the first principles of morals, which may not be found in the preface and the first three sermons of this volume. The discourses on the character of Balaam, on Self-deceit, on the Love of God, and on the Ignorance of Man, may be noticed as of peculiar excellence."

Then of the *Analogy*, he proceeds to say,—"The *Analogy*, ever since its first publication, has been universally considered as, beyond comparison, the ablest treatise on the philosophy of religion. As a preparation for the study of the evidences of natural and revealed religion, it is invaluable; since it both annihilates the most formidable *à priori* objections of the infidel, and is admirably fitted to form the mind to the serious and earnest pursuit of the truth. To good men of a speculative turn of mind, who are tormented by the frequent recurrence of sceptical doubts, it has always proved an inestimable blessing; and even infidels have been compelled to acknow-

ledge its superlative excellence as a piece of reasoning."

Upon the intellectual constitution of Butler's mind he adds,—"In the mind of Bishop Butler all the elements of the true philosophic intellect were developed in their utmost strength and finest proportion. His metaphysical sagacity, while scarcely less profound than that of Leibnitz or of Edwards, was chastened and controlled by a sound practical reason, which neither the German nor the American ever possessed. In that Baconian grasp and comprehensiveness of mind which embraces a complex and extensive subject in all its parts and bearings, he has rarely, if ever, been surpassed. The greatness of his genius is remarkably displayed in that simplicity and sobriety of mind which he preserved entire and undisturbed, amidst his most abstruse and elevated speculations. He never attempts to prop a weak position, or to bear too heavily upon a strong one. He never understates the argument of an antagonist,—never conceals the difficulties which encumber his own. In short, he exhibits nothing of the artifice and generalship which usually render controversial divinity so comparatively unproductive of conviction. But, indeed, he could afford the negligent simplicity of greatness; for at the same time that his speculations were uniformly sound and just, they were infinitely more original than all the brilliant paradoxes that ever flashed across

the imagination of Horsley, or of Warburton. The style of Bishop Butler has, we think, been condemned undeservedly. It certainly is not formed to any thing like Ciceronian harmony and elegance; but it seldom offends the ear, or violates the purity of the English idiom. The charge of obscurity may be confidently repelled; and, indeed, it is difficult to conceive how it should ever have been advanced by any but a brainless sciolist,

> . . . . too weak to bear
> The insupportable fatigue of thought."

The Dean of Salisbury informed the writer of this *Memoir*, that a learned friend of his had once translated the *Analogy* into Latin, with a view to its publication in Germany, and submitted it to the revision of Professor Porson. Dr. Pearson is not, however, aware of the reason why it did not appear in print.

It was observed by Sir James Mackintosh,— "Butler's great work *On the Analogy of Religion and the course of Nature*, though only a commentary on the singularly original and pregnant passage of Origen, which is so honestly prefixed to it as a motto, is, notwithstanding, the most original and profound work extant in any language on the philosophy of religion." The first intention of Butler was, to have incorporated the two dissertations, upon Personal Identity, and the Nature of Virtue, in his great work, the *Analogy*. The former, he had inserted in the first chapter, *Upon*

a Future Life; and the latter, in the third chapter, *Upon the Moral Government of God.* But, as he himself observes, in the advertisement which precedes them, "As they do not directly fall under the title of the foregoing treatise, and would have kept the subject of it too long out of sight, it seemed more proper to place them by themselves."

A singular specimen of analogical reasoning by a South-Sea islander, recently extricated from the darkness of paganism, is mentioned by Mr. Williams, in his interesting *Narrative of Missionary Enterprise.* When the Honourable Captain Waldegrave, who commanded the British frigate, the Seringapatam, touched at the island of Raiatea, where the London Missionary Society had prosecuted their labours with very signal success, some of the officers of the ship expressed a doubt if the capacity of the natives would enable them to understand the doctrines taught them by their instructors. Upon this it was suggested, that some of the converted islanders should be interrogated by Captain W., in the presence of his chaplain, and other gentlemen, at the house of the missionary. When they were assembled, for this purpose, Captain Waldegrave addressed to them the following question:—"Do you believe that the Bible is the word of God, and that Christianity is of Divine origin?" The natives, for a moment, were startled, as a doubt upon the subject had never entered their mind; at length one

of them said, "Most certainly we do. We look at the power with which it has been attended in effecting the entire overthrow of idolatry amongst us, and which, we believe, no human means could have induced us to abandon." The question was then repeated to an old priest, who had become a decided believer in Christianity. Instead, however, of replying at once, "he held up his hands, and rapidly moved the joints of his wrists and fingers; he then opened and shut his mouth, and closed these singular actions by raising his leg, and moving it in various directions." Having done this, he said, "See, I have hinges all over me: if the thought grows in my heart, that I wish to handle any thing, the hinges in my hands enable me to do so: if I want to utter any thing, the hinges to my jaws enable me to say it; and if I desire to go any where, here are hinges to my legs to enable me to walk. Now," continued he, "I perceive great wisdom in the adaptation of my body to the various wants of my mind; and when I look into the Bible, and see there proofs of wisdom which correspond exactly with those which appear in my frame, I conclude that the Maker of my body is the Author of that book."—Chap. 14, p. 235. This answer, which is grounded upon true philosophy, presents a striking example of the same mental process which enabled Butler so fully and so faithfully to trace, throughout the wide range of human experience, the "Analogy of

Religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of Nature."

It was remarked by the Divine Founder of Christianity, that, "A prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, *and among his own kin*, and in his own house."—Mark vi. 4. The truth of this observation in its application to Bishop Butler, will be illustrated by the following anecdote of one of his relatives.

Upon the publication of the *Analogy*, the bishop presented a copy of the first quarto edition to each of his nephews at Wantage. One of these, John, a wealthy and eccentric bachelor, who had more taste for practical mechanics than for metaphysical research, appeared to attach but little value to his uncle's production. Having occasion to borrow an iron vice of his neighbour Mr. Thompson, a shrewd and sensible Scotch solicitor, who spoke in high terms of the *Analogy*, and expressed great respect for the author, John Butler proposed, that, as Mr. Thompson liked the *Analogy*, and he himself liked the iron vice, they should make an exchange. To this suggestion Mr. Thompson cheerfully assented, and John Butler left him highly pleased, and thinking that he had turned his uncle's present to an excellent account, by obtaining for it an implement of so much more useful a character.

It was imagined, by the writer of the memoir of Butler, in the *Biographia Britannica*, that the

Charge, which was delivered at Durham in 1751, was the only one of his publications which provoked a controversy, and arrayed against him a direct literary opponent. There was, however, a tract printed in 1737, termed "*Remarks on Dr. Butler's Sixth Chapter of the Analogy of Religion, concerning Necessity; and also, Upon the Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue.* By PHILANTHROPUS." The motto upon the title page is, "Non ut majore reprenso."—Horace. In a copy of this pamphlet, which is preserved among Hughes's Tracts, in the library of Queen's College, Cambridge, under the signature "Philanthropus," is *written*, "The Rev. Mr. Bott, rector of Spicksworth, Norfolk." This gentleman wrote an Answer to *Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses*, which was published in London, in 1743.

The remarks by Philanthropus consist of two dissertations and a preface. That on the Sixth Chapter of the *Analogy* occupies twenty-one pages; the other on the Nature of Virtue thirty-nine; and the preface contains twenty-two pages.

It is not a little amusing to find Philanthropus proceeding with as much self-complacency to the discharge of the task he had undertaken, as if he possessed a consciousness of great superiority over Butler. In the first page of the preface he observes, "It is most likely I shall not hereafter publish any more remarks upon this author; and, therefore, I would take this opportunity of re-

minding him of a few things, in the other parts of his book, which in my humble opinion greatly deserve to be reviewed and corrected." In the course of his strictures, he objects to the manner in which Butler has treated the doctrines of repentance, and faith in the great atonement for sin. He exhibits, moreover, a tendency, throughout his observations, to exalt human reason, and human judgment; to place an unscriptural dependence on the light of nature; and to make benevolence, rather than conscience, the guiding principle of human movement. Considering the captious and censorious tone which pervades the work, the extraordinary heaviness of the style, the unsoundness of the principles, and the perplexed character of many of the arguments, although these "Remarks" were written much to the author's own satisfaction, it is not surprising that, not only their merits, but their very existence, should have been unknown to the writer of the memoir of Butler, in the improved edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, which was published thirty-seven years afterwards, in 1784.

It is not a weak arm, indeed, that can effect a breach in the reasonings of Butler. Had he rested upon the aid which untried theory and speculation could have rendered him, he might have been successfully opposed, as other metaphysical writers have been; but opening, as he has done, the sources of immutable truth, from "The Ana-

logy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the constitution and course of Nature;" "and laying his strong foundations in the depth of that great argument *," he has arrived at conclusions which nothing can refute.

The grand error of writers of the school of Philanthropus, whether they *profess* themselves disciples of Arius or Socinus, or not, is, that their views are defective upon the fundamental doctrine of human corruption in consequence of the fall; and therefore it is only natural that they should overlook or undervalue the equally fundamental doctrine of the recovery of the transgressor, through the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. The doctrine of the fall of man is most intimately blended with the whole structure of Christianity. There is not a single branch of it which can be fully and freely treated without a reference to this doctrine; and consequently, if there be not clear and consistent views of our apostasy in Adam, it is difficult to conceive how correct views can be arrived at, of the plan of redemption from the curse which that apostasy involves. They, however, who contemplate the human family, with the author of the *Analogy*, as "those who have corrupted their nature, are fallen from their original rectitude, and whose passions are become excessive by repeated violations of their inward constitution;" will not

* Vide Dr. Southey's inscription for the monument of Bishop Butler.

hesitate to advance with him another step, and add, "Upright creatures may want to be improved; depraved creatures want to be renewed." Part i. chap. 5.

In the year 1787 there were, moreover, some remarks on Butler's *Analogy* published, which the researches of the author of this volume have been unable to discover. If the character of the work, however, in which they appear, be fairly given in a cotemporary journal, no great injury will be inflicted, by its loss, upon the interests of literature. The title of it is, "*Essays on various subjects, critical and moral: containing remarks on Butler's Analogy; a review of Locke's Philosophy; grammatical strictures; letters on wit and humour: in which various observations are made on the most celebrated writers on the subjects of logic, morals, and metaphysics.* By WILLIAM BELCHIER, Esq. Kent. 2 vols."—The *Monthly Review*, (vol. LXXVII. old series,) for Oct. 1787, page 330, thus observes upon it: "There are writers who bid defiance to all the powers of criticism, some by rising above, and others by sinking below the level of common sense. To one or other of these classes the author of these *Essays* certainly belongs; but to which, it is impossible for us to determine; for after labouring through his tedious pages of unconnected matter, expressed in inelegant, and often coarse language, we are at a loss to discover his meaning. If we do not, therefore, attempt to extract any

articles of information or amusement from these volumes, our apology must be, that where there is no light, a reflector can be of no use."

That which may be termed the germ of the *Analogy*, will be found in the opening of Butler's Sixth Sermon upon Compassion, where he says, "There is a much more exact correspondence between the natural and moral world, than we are apt to take notice of. The inward frame of man does, in a peculiar manner, answer to the external condition and circumstances of life, in which he is placed."

In the *Compendium* of the *Analogy*, which is added to this work, it is not attempted to compress the arguments of Butler, so as to afford a complete survey of the whole of them. It may be questioned, indeed, whether any summary or compendium, however carefully made, could give a fair view of the work itself. The *Analogy* is already so condensed by its author, or, as the writer lately quoted has termed it, "*so carefully and closely packed up*," as scarcely to admit of further compression. All that is aimed at, therefore, in reference to that masterly treatise is, to present a general outline of the plan of the work, *with the leading arguments, and the more prominent illustrations, in the author's own language.*

In a splendid flower-garden may be seen a great variety of plants, which deserve a separate and minute examination; but if the visitor want

either leisure or inclination to enter upon this accurate survey, his attention may be drawn with advantage to some of the more rare and choice flowers, which are scattered amongst the different parterres; or, to some of the more striking parterres, which form distinct portions of the whole. And if the attention of the spectator can be, in this way, arrested, it may excite a desire to take a more comprehensive survey at a future period. This may serve to illustrate the design which has been followed out, not without care and labour, in the *Compendium* of the *Analogy* now published.

CHAPTER IV.

Butler raised to the see of Bristol.—Letter to Sir R. Walpole.—Some passages in that letter explained.—Made Dean of St. Paul's.—Resigns Stanhope, and stall at Rochester.—Bishop of Exeter's letter to Dr. Goddard.—Butler's habits at Stanhope.—Observations on the anecdote of the importunity of beggars.—Bishop Van Mildert's anecdote of Butler at Stanhope.—Mrs. Talbot and her daughter at Stanhope.—Correspondence between Butler and Lord Kaimes.—David Hume wishes to be introduced to Butler.—Hume's letters to Kaimes about Butler.—Gives a living to his first tutor, Philip Barton.—Ordains his nephew Joseph, and presents him to the living of Shadwell.—Story of his displeasure at his Nephew's first text.—Presents him to the prebend of Islington.—Butler made Clerk of the Closet to the King.—Proceedings at Bristol.—Erects a cross in the private chapel.—Henry Martyn's remark.—Anecdote of Butler by Dean Tucker.—Notice of Dean Tucker.

BUTLER having been strongly recommended to the favour of the king, by the deceased queen, and also by the lord chancellor Talbot, the brother of his early friend, it is not surprising that the weight of such influence, together with the unanimous voice of the learned public, which was loud in his favour, should speedily advance him to the Episcopal Bench. It will be accordingly found that in the autumn of the year after the death of the queen, upon the see of Bristol becoming vacant by the translation of Dr. Gooch to the see of Norwich, the author of the *Analogy*

was promoted to that high dignity; and as his memoranda book shows, was consecrated to it on the 3d of December, 1738. Upon receiving a communication upon the subject, from the minister of the day, Sir Robert Walpole, Butler wrote the following characteristic reply.

"*Stanhope, August* 28, 1738.

"Sir,

"I received yesterday, from your own hand, (an honour which I ought very particularly to acknowledge,) the information that the king had nominated me to the bishoprick of Bristol. I most truly think myself very highly obliged to his Majesty, as much, all things considered, as any subject in his dominions; for, I know no greater obligation, than to find the queen's condescending goodness and kind intentions towards me, transferred to his Majesty. Nor is it possible, while I live, to be without the most grateful sense of his favour to me, whether the effects of it be greater or less; for, this must in some measure depend upon accidents. Indeed, the bishoprick of Bristol is not very suitable either to the condition of my fortune, or the circumstances of my preferment; nor, as I should have thought, answerable to the recommendation with which I was honoured. But you will excuse me, sir, if I think of this last with greater sensibility than the conduct of affairs will admit of.

"But without entering further into detail, I

desire, sir, you will please to let his Majesty know, that I humbly accept this instance of his favour with the utmost possible gratitude.

"I beg leave, also, sir, to return you my humble thanks for your good offices upon this, and all occasions; and for your very obliging expressions of regard to,

Sir,

Your most obedient, most faithful,
and most humble Servant,
JOSEPH BUTLER."

"By means of my distance from Durham, I had not yours, sir, till yesterday, so that this is the first post I could answer it."

The conscientious mind of Butler was uneasy under the pressure of duties which he could not discharge to his own satisfaction; and this led to his stipulation with the lord chancellor Talbot, upon being appointed his chaplain, that he should be allowed to pass half the year amongst his parishioners at Stanhope. The same feeling of doubt, as to the compatibility of the new duties awaiting him in the episcopal character, with a due attention to those already devolving upon him, arose in his mind, when he contemplated the relative distance between London, Bristol, and Stanhope; each of which places would urge its claims upon him; and when, moreover, from the poverty of the see of Bristol, which did not

yield 400*l.* per annum, it would be out of his power to preside over that diocese, if he resigned the benefice which supplied him with the larger part of his income. This view of the case suggested his remark to Sir R. Walpole, that "the bishoprick of Bristol was not very suitable either to the condition of his fortune, or the circumstances of his preferment;" and it will presently appear, that he took the earliest practicable opportunity of escaping from the difficulty in which he was thereby placed, by relinquishing his parochial charge, which he could no longer satisfactorily superintend.

Little more than a year elapsed from his consecration to the see of Bristol, before the deanery of St. Paul's became vacant; when the king presented him to this new dignity, early in the spring of 1740, and he was installed upon the 24th of May. No sooner, therefore, was he in possession of the deanery of St. Paul's, than he resigned the valuable living of Stanhope, and also gave up his prebendal stall at Rochester. He thereby relieved himself from the pressure of duties which were incompatible with his other avocations, and confined himself entirely to his engagements in London, and to those of his episcopal charge. Of the private life and habits of Butler, during his long seclusion and periodical residence at Stanhope, few traces remain. He appears to have possessed the respect and veneration of his parishioners, in

a high degree, and to have returned their regard with sincere cordiality and affection.

In a letter from the present Lord Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Philpotts, to the archdeacon of Lincoln, Dr. Goddard, are the following allusions to Butler, at Stanhope:

"*Exeter, Jan.* 25, 1835.

"My dear Sir,

"I earnestly wish I could justify the report made to you by the provost of Oriel, that I could supply you with several anecdotes of Bishop Butler. The truth, however, is, that although tantalized by seeming opportunities of acquiring some information respecting the private life and habits of one, to whom I have been accustomed to look up as the greatest of uninspired men, I have been mortified by my almost entire failure. In the rectory of Stanhope, I was successor to him after an interval of eighty years; and one of my earliest employments there, was to search for reliques of my illustrious predecessor. I was assured, that an old parishioner, who, with a tolerably clear memory, had reached the age of ninety-three or ninety-four, recollected him well. To him I frequently went, and in almost all my conversations, endeavoured to elicit something respecting 'Rector Butler.' He remembered him well—but, as I ought, perhaps, to have anticipated, could tell me nothing: for what chance was there, that one who was a joiner's apprentice, of thirteen years of age,

when Butler left Stanhope, could, fourscore years afterwards, tell any thing about him? That he was respected and beloved by his parishioners, which was known before, was confirmed by my informant. He lived very retired, was very kind, and could not resist the importunities of common beggars, who, knowing his infirmity, pursued him so earnestly, as sometimes to drive him back into his house, as his only escape. I confess I do not think my authority for this trait of character in Butler, is quite sufficient to justify my reporting it with any confidence. There was, moreover, a tradition of his riding a black pony, and riding always very fast. I examined the parish books, not with much hope of discovering anything worth recording of him; and was unhappily as unsuccessful as I expected. His name, indeed, was subscribed to one or two acts of vestry, in a very neat and easy character; but if it was amusing, it was mortifying, to find the only trace of such a man's labours, recorded by his own hand, to be the passing a parish account, authorising the payment of five shillings, to some adventurous clown who had destroyed a 'foumart,' or wood-marten, the marten-cat, or some other equally important matter."

With regard to Butler's inability to resist the importunity of common beggars, it is highly probable that a conflict, between feeling and judg-

ment, arose in his mind whenever he was accosted by them. To one possessed of such extensive benevolence, and who was so munificent in his charities, it would have been both gratifying and easy, could he have been satisfied of the propriety of the measure, to have dispensed liberally to the wandering mendicant. He objected, however, upon principle, to indiscriminate almsgiving, because he thought it productive of injurious practical consequences. Although, therefore, he was sensitively alive to the distresses of his fellow-creatures, he would not do violence to his judgment by acting from the mere impulse of the moment. Considering it to be wrong to supply the idle and profligate with the means of indulging vicious habits, he sacrificed his feelings to his sense of what was right; but unable, perhaps, to resist the importunity of solicitation, which would have been an easy task to one of a sterner nature, *his only refuge was in flight.* A passage from his sermon preached before the lord mayor, will illustrate the anecdote in the Bishop of Exeter's letter, by distinctly pointing out the views which Butler entertained upon the subject: "What we have to bestow in charity being a trust, we cannot discharge it faithfully, without taking some care to satisfy ourselves, in some degree, that we bestow it upon the proper objects of charity. One hears persons complaining that it is difficult to distinguish who are such; yet often seeming to forget,

that this is a reason for using their best endeavours to do so. And others make a custom of giving to idle vagabonds; a kind of charity, very improperly so called, which one really wonders people can allow themselves in; merely to be relieved from importunity, or at best to gratify a false good nature. For they cannot but know, that it is, at least, very doubtful, whether what they thus give will not immediately be spent in riot and debauchery. Or suppose it be not, yet still they know, they do a great deal of certain mischief, by encouraging this shameful trade of begging in the streets, and all the disorders which accompany it."

When Butler's humane disposition and generous habits are borne in mind, it is easy to imagine that the report of these would encourage common beggars to hope much from his munificence; and this will account for the importunity with which they are said to have assailed him. And when, on the other hand, we look at him as a man who acted conscientiously in the minor, as well as in the more important duties of life; and remember that the foregoing extract embodies his sentiments upon the evils of indiscriminate almsgiving, the incident mentioned by the Bishop of Exeter, and the conduct of Butler in connection with it, will appear in perfect consistency, both with the firmness of his principles, and with the tenderness of his feelings.

The late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Van Mildert, in a letter to the archdeacon of Lincoln, mentions the following reminiscence of his great predecessor, while at Stanhope, upon the authority of the present incumbent of that parish: "When in London, Dr. Butler used to say to his servant, 'John, you and I must be thinking of riding down to Stanhope, some of these days.' A communication which the servant always judiciously interpreted to mean that the horses were to be at the door on the next Monday morning, after breakfast, for the commencement of their journey to the north." The bishop adds, moreover, "that he was frequently seen riding through Frosterly, a hamlet of Stanhope, at a great pace, on a black horse."

From one of the letters of Bishop Rundle, who, together with Secker, had been chaplain to Bishop Talbot, it would appear that, in 1729, Mrs. Talbot, the widow of Edward Talbot, and her daughter "Kitty," as she is termed, were on a visit to "Rector Butler," at Stanhope.

Not long before Butler was made Bishop of Bristol, a correspondence was opened with him, by Henry Home, Lord Kaimes, from an earnest desire, on the part of this gentleman, to have some doubts removed, which arose in his mind when first he turned his attention to the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. "Those difficulties," says Woodhouselee, in his *Life of Kaimes*, "he stated in a letter to Dr. Butler, with whom

he had no previous acquaintance; and earnestly entreated that he might be allowed a personal interview; which, notwithstanding the distance that separated them, he was willing at his own cost alone to accomplish. Dr. Butler answered his letter with the utmost politeness, and endeavoured, as far as he could, by writing, to satisfy Mr. Home's inquiries, but modestly declined a personal meeting, on the score of his own natural diffidence and reserve, his being unaccustomed to oral controversy, and his fear that the cause of truth might thence suffer from the unskilfulness of its advocate. However to be regretted that these letters have not been preserved, (possibly from being lent to some of his philosophical friends,) there is reason to believe the correspondence was most satisfactory to Mr. Home, as he retained, through life, the greatest regard for Dr. Butler, and though differing from him in some speculative points, entertained the highest respect for his abilities."—Vol. i., p. 86.

The biographer of Lord Kaimes moreover states, that David Hume, at his entrance into public life, was very desirous of an introduction to Dr. Butler, which he obtained through Mr. Home, who gave him a letter to him. Hume called to present the letter, but found Butler from home, and it does not appear that they ever became personally acquainted. He was anxious to have had his opinion of his first treatise, on *Human Nature,*

which was, in fact, the incipient developement of his worst speculations. With his habitual candour, Butler, as *Hume himself says*, was reported to have spoken favourably, at a future period, of some of the arguments in his *Political Essays*, which were of a different character from those which rendered him so conspicuous in the ranks of infidelity.

The letters which were written by David Hume to Mr. Home, afterwards Lord Kaimes, upon the subject, are to the following effect. In the first, dated Dec. 2, 1737, he observes, " Your thoughts and mine agree with respect to Dr. Butler, and I would be glad to be introduced to him."

Then, in allusion to his first work, the *Treatise of Human Nature*, he adds,

" I am at present " " cutting off its nobler parts, that is, endeavouring it shall give as little offence as possible; before which, I could not pretend to put it into the Doctor's hand. This is a piece of cowardice, for which I blame myself, though I believe none of my friends will blame me. But I was resolved not to be an enthusiast in philosophy, while I was blaming other enthusiasms.

I am, &c.,

DAVID HUME."

Having received the letter of introduction from Mr. Home, he wrote to him to express his sense

of obligation, for this act of kindness from one who was almost a stranger to Dr. Butler:

"To Mr. HENRY HOME, Advocate.

"*London, March* 4, 1738.

"Sir,

"I shall not trouble you with any formal compliments or thanks, which would be but an ill return for the kindness you have done me, in writing in my behalf to one you are so little acquainted with, as Dr. Butler; and I am afraid, stretching the truth in favour of a friend. I have called upon the Doctor with a design of delivering him your letter, but find he is at present in the country. I am a little anxious to have the Doctor's opinion. My own I dare not trust to; because it is so variable, that I know not how to fix it. Sometimes it elevates me above the clouds; at other times it depresses me with doubts and fears; so that, whatever may be my success, I cannot be entirely disappointed.

DAVID HUME."

His *Treatise* was published at the end of that year, and early in the following year, he again observes, in writing to Mr. Home:

"*London, Feb.* 13, 1739.

"I have sent the Bishop of Bristol a copy; but could not wait on him with your letter after he had arrived at that dignity; at least, I

thought it would be to no purpose, after I began the printing."

Of this, his first work, he himself remarks:— "Never literary attempt was more unfortunate, than my *Treatise of Human Nature*. It fell dead-born from the press, without reaching such distinction as even to excite a murmur among the zealots; but being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow*."

Having in 1742, printed at Edinburgh, the first part of his *Political Essays*, he thus refers to the success of that work, in another letter to Mr. Henry Home, dated June 13, 1742:

* There is a note in vol. v. p. 200, of the *London Magazine*, for 1777, which renders it questionable, whether Hume's own account of the manner in which his "*sanguine temper*" enabled him to bear his disappointment, can be depended upon. He is there represented as "*so sanguine*, that it does not appear our author had acquired, at this period of his life, that command over his passions, of which he afterwards makes his boast. His disappointment, at the public reception of his *Essay on Human Nature*, had, indeed, a violent effect on his passions in a particular instance; it not having dropt so '*dead-born from the press*,' but that it was severely handled by the reviewers of those times, in a publication entitled *The Works of the Learned;* a circumstance which so highly provoked our young philosopher, that he flew, in a violent rage, to demand satisfaction of Jacob Robinson, the publisher, whom he kept, during the paroxysm of his anger, at his sword's point, trembling behind the counter, lest a period should be put to the life of a sober critic, by a raving philosopher."

"The *Essays* are all sold in London, as I am informed by two letters from English gentlemen of my acquaintance. There is a demand for them; and, as one of them tells me, Innys, the great bookseller in Paul's Churchyard, wonders there is not a new edition, for that he cannot find copies for his customers. I am also told that Dr. Butler has every where recommended them, so that I hope they will have some success.

DAVID HUME."

"This work," he says, in his own life, "was favourably received; and soon made me entirely forget my former disappointment."

He alludes to the *Political Essays*, also, at a later period, when he adds, in reference to the second part,—"In 1752, were published at Edinburgh, where I then lived, my *Political Discourses*, the only work of mine that was successful on its first publication. It was well received abroad and at home."

It was not, however, until several years after Hume reports that Butler spoke well of his *Political Essays*, that his works awakened much alarm in the public mind. Although he had recast the first part of his *Treatise of Human Nature*, and republished it in the *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, it did not attract attention. He speaks of it as "entirely overlooked and neglected." It was probably not before 1749 or 1750, that his writings were more generally read, when they

naturally excited the apprehension of well-disposed persons. In allusion to this, he observes, with his characteristic self-complacency, "Answers by Reverends and Right Reverends came out, two or three in a year; and I found, by Dr. Warburton's railing, that the books were beginning to be esteemed in good company."

In what awful contrast did the subsequent career of Hume present itself, to that of Butler, at whose feet he seemed ready at one moment to sit! In the latter, we see the calm, persevering, consistent Champion of Truth: in the former, the bold, the insidious, the too successful Disseminator of Error. Thousands will bless the name of Butler, as the leader who taught them to trace out, and adhere to, "the good old paths," which, although difficult of access, are "paths of pleasantness and peace." Thousands will charge upon the name of Hume, the crime of mingling poison with the springs of knowledge, and, by undermining their belief in Christianity, of wrecking their hopes for eternity! Truly, "the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. The way of the wicked is as darkness; they know not at what they stumble."—Prov. iv., 18, 19.

No sooner did the preferment in the gift of the Dean of St. Paul's enable him to do so, than Bishop Butler, mindful of the debt of gratitude he owed to his first tutor, Philip Barton, the

worthy master of the Wantage grammar school, presented him to the rectory of Hutton, in the county of Essex, where he died at a very advanced age, ten years after his distinguished pupil, in the year 1762.

In the spring of 1741, Bishop Butler ordained his nephew Joseph Butler, the son of his eldest brother Robert, by letters dimissory from the Bishop of London; and, deeming him deserving of preferment, soon afterwards presented him to the rectory of St. Paul's, Shadwell, of which he remained the incumbent fifty-seven years, until his death, in 1798. It was reported, after the bishop's decease, that the reason he did not give greater preferment to this nephew was, because, in preaching his first sermon, at the parish church of Shadwell, he took for his text, Psalm cxx. 5: "Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar;"—that, having selected this text as descriptive of the disagreeable situation of his living, his uncle was offended, and resolved that he should remain there. But there was no truth whatever in this report; which probably arose out of a playful remark he made to a friend, that had he been compelled to make Shadwell his constant residence, he should have preached from such a text as that alluded to. As there was no proper house of residence in the parish, however, Mr. Joseph Butler was permitted, by his diocesan, to reside in Norfolk Street, in the Strand,

which rendered the supposed lamentation wholly unnecessary.

On the 13th of June, 1742, Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Hurd was ordained by Bishop Butler, in St. Paul's cathedral, by letters dimissory from Dr. Gooch, bishop of Norwich.

Having approved of the conduct of his nephew Joseph, in his proceedings in his parish of Shadwell, and wishing to encourage his diligent attention to his pastoral duties, his uncle presented him to the Islington canonry, or stall, at St. Paul's, to which he was collated Feb. 7, 1745.

As the personal intercourse of Butler with Queen Caroline, had very much attached her to him; so also on his Majesty, George II., becoming intimately acquainted with the author of the *Analogy*, his esteem for his character was proportionably heightened; and, as a proof of the royal confidence, upon the death of Dr. Egerton, bishop of Hereford, in 1746, the bishop of Bristol was appointed his successor as clerk of the closet to the king.

At the period of Butler's appointment in the royal household, he had been eight years bishop of Bristol, and throughout nearly the whole of that term, he had divided his time between his duties in London, and those of his diocese. His alterations and repairs in the palace at Bristol, were so extensive as to have amounted, it was said, to a larger sum than the whole income of the see,

during his incumbency; and when his friends observed that he was expending more than his episcopal revenues upon these improvements, he used to reply, that "the deanery of St. Paul's paid for them."

The late dean of Bristol, Dr. Beake, in a letter upon the subject, to the archdeacon of Lincoln, observes, "Bishop Butler is believed to have expended a very considerable sum in repairs of the palace; but the exterior of the building was almost all of it about coeval with the abbey itself, the walls being about five feet thick, of which the partially calcined ruins are now to be seen. Much of the interior had been altered at the cost of Bishop Butler, and a very prevalent idea exists, especially since estimates have been made of the damages by the fire, that he was greatly imposed upon by those whom he employed. Various traditions exist, of the sum he expended, as 4000*l.* or 5000*l.*; but I have never been able to trace any one of them to any authentic source, though from my own observations, and those of skilful surveyors, I believe they are not far distant from the truth. I have heard another tradition, to which I give some, although limited credit, that he spent the whole income of the bishoprick, on an average of about twelve years, during which he held it, in repairs and improvements of the palace."—Jan. 28, 1835.

When Butler was carrying forward the altera-

tions in the episcopal residence, the merchants of Bristol made him a present of a considerable quantity of cedar, with which he adorned the palace. Not having occasion to use the whole of this cedar, he took some of it to Durham, upon his removal thither in 1750, where it remained in an unwrought state, until one of his distinguished successors, the amiable and munificent Bishop Barrington, had it made into articles of furniture, which he presented to his friends as mementos of Bishop Butler.

Amongst the various improvements which Butler made in the palace at Bristol, was the entire renovation of the interior of the private chapel; where, over the communion table, he placed the cross, at which offence was subsequently taken, when the charge of attachment to Romish usages was made against him. The ground of this cross was a large slab of black marble, into which a cross of white marble, of about three feet high, by eighteen inches wide, was sunk. The whole was surrounded by some of the cedar alluded to, which was beautifully carved. The chapel and the cross remained, in the state in which Bishop Butler left them, until the destruction of the palace by an infuriated mob, upon the 31st of October, 1831. The aged sexton of the cathedral, who appears to hold the memory of Bishop Butler in great veneration, assured the writer of this *Memoir*, that as soon as the fire was

sufficiently subdued for him to venture amongst the ruins, he searched them in the hope of recovering the marble cross, but discovered, at length, that it was broken to pieces, and destroyed. The loss of a cross, however, the erection of which Archbishop Secker regretted, and of which, on account of the offence it occasioned, Bishop Halifax remarked, "it were to be wished in prudence, it had not been done," need not be very seriously lamented.

The controversy which arose upon this subject will be noticed in its proper place. It will be sufficient to observe, in passing, that some minds are so constituted, as to be powerfully drawn by the emblem, towards the object represented, and devotion is kindled. Others, dwelling only upon the abuse of the emblem, and alive to the criminal extent to which this abuse has been carried in the church of Rome, profess to find their devotion weakened thereby, rather than strengthened. Unable, perhaps, to dispossess their mind of the association of abuse with the sight of the outward emblem, they take offence; forgetting that the very object which is a source of disquietude to them, may be the means of elevating the tone of piety in others. Thus, in the case of the cross which Butler erected, as Bishop Halifax remarks, "This, which was intended by the blameless prelate merely as a sign or memorial, that true Christians are to bear their cross, and not to be ashamed of following

a crucified Master, was considered as affording a presumption that he was secretly inclined to popish forms and ceremonies, and had no great dislike to popery itself." The practical lesson, however, which is equally important and wholesome for all to observe, is that which St. Paul enforces upon the Roman converts: "Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth." "Who art thou, that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth."—Romans xiv. 3, 4.

In illustration of the preceding observations, the following remark, from the Journal of the devoted and accomplished missionary, Henry Martyn, may be cited: "At chapel, my soul ascended to God; and the sight of the picture at the altar, of John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness, animated me exceedingly to devotedness to the life of a missionary*."

In one of Dean Tucker's tracts, intitled *An humble address, and earnest appeal to the Landed Interest*, 1775,—is a note, (p. 20,) to the following effect: "The late Dr. Butler, bishop of Bristol, and afterwards of Durham, had a singular notion respecting large communities and public bodies; a notion, which is not perhaps altogether inapplicable to the present case. His custom was,

* Vide *Journals and Letters, &c.*, by the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, p. 161.

when at Bristol, to walk for hours in his garden in the darkest night which the time of the year could afford, and I had frequently the honour to attend him. After walking some time he would stop suddenly and ask the question, 'What security is there against the insanity of individuals? The physicians know of none; and as to divines, we have no data, either from Scripture or from reason, to go upon relative to this affair.' 'True, my lord, no man has a lease of his understanding, any more than of his life; they are both in the hands of the Sovereign Disposer of all things.' He would then take another turn, and again stop short: 'Why might not whole communities and public bodies be seized with fits of insanity, as well as individuals?' 'My lord, I have never considered the case, and can give no opinion concerning it.' 'Nothing but this principle, that they are liable to insanity, equally at least with private persons, can account for the major part of those transactions of which we read in history.' I thought little," adds the dean, "of that odd conceit of the bishop at that juncture; but I own I could not avoid thinking of it a great deal since, and applying it to many cases."

Dr. Tucker, who has preserved this reminiscence of the author of the *Analogy*, was born in 1712, and became curate of St. Stephen's in Bristol in 1737, when he was also appointed a minor canon of the cathedral in that city. His diligence

in his parish, and his assiduity in the discharge of his various duties, attracted the favourable notice of Bishop Butler, who made him his domestic chaplain, and afterwards employed his interest to procure him a stall at Bristol. He subsequently succeeded to the rectory of St. Stephen's, and in 1758, was advanced to the deanery of Gloucester.

Amongst various pamphlets, upon political and commercial subjects, he published *Thoughts upon the dispute between the Mother Country and America.* In this he asserted that the colonies could not be subdued, and that, even if they could, the sacrifice which must be incurred would be greater than the benefit to be reaped from the conquest. He warned the country, therefore, against entering upon a disastrous war, in language which led him to be regarded as bordering upon insanity. He persisted, however, in reiterating his assertions, notwithstanding the scorn with which his opinions were treated, both in the houses of parliament and by the public press, until the progress of events proved the correctness of his original views.

CHAPTER V.

Butler refuses the primacy.—His nephew, John Butler's offer.—Letter to a lady, on church property.—Sermons on public occasions.—Extract from Fifth Sermon on liberty.—Extract from ditto on popery.—Resemblance of ditto to parliamentary remonstrance to James I.—Ditto to Secker's remarks on ditto.—Butler on political opposition.—On our civil constitution.—Butler loses his eldest brother.—Nominated to the see of Durham.—His conscientious scruples.—His feelings upon a change of diocese, in two letters.—Last official act at Bristol.—Address on his arrival at Durham.—The bishop's reply.

It has been already hinted, that, as the more frequent intercourse of Bishop Butler with the king, enabled the sovereign to form a just estimate of his worth, his esteem for his person and respect for his character were proportionably raised. It is not therefore surprising, that, when an opportunity arose, his Majesty should afford the strongest proof of the estimation in which he held him, by desiring to elevate him to the primacy; justly conceiving, that his mild and courteous demeanour, united with his splendid talents, would adorn and dignify the highest seat upon the episcopal bench.

Upon the decease of Archbishop Potter, therefore, in 1747, it was proposed that Butler should resign the see of Bristol, that he might become

the metropolitan of all England. The reply which he is reported to have made, to an offer so flattering to human ambition, was strongly indicative of the unfavourable view he took of the prospects which were opening before the friends of the national establishment, from the alarming temper of the times. He is said to have answered, that, "It was too late for him to try to support a falling Church *."

The apprehensions of the good prelate, however, were happily not realized. The church of England, although threatened by the combined forces of infidelity and revolutionary principles, was enabled to outride the tempest. And although, in more recent times, she has resembled a bark upon a troubled ocean, the waves have not been permitted to overwhelm her. It is said, that the British oak derives benefit from the storm which shakes but does not destroy it; because, by agitating the trunk, and loosening the soil around its base, it enables the tree to strike its roots the more deeply. And thus it may be hoped, that the adverse winds which have blown so rudely upon the church of England, and partially scattered her foliage upon the ground, by unfolding the goodly proportions of her structure, and by proving the stability of

* This anecdote of Bishop Butler is given upon the authority of the late Lady Saxton, who was connected with the family, and preserved many of his sayings. Mrs. Sarah Butler, also, has heard her father, the Rev. Joseph Butler, relate the same anecdote.

her foundation, will become the means of rooting her more firmly in the affections of the British population. Her articles are grounded upon the essential verities of the Gospel,—her beautiful liturgy breathes the simplicity and fervour of genuine devotion; and at no period, perhaps, since the glorious era of the Reformation, has there been a more numerous body of laborious and exemplary clergy, than are now ministering at her altars. Whatever, therefore, may be her weak points, and no human institution can be wholly free from these, she has only to be true to herself, —to be faithful in asserting the great Protestant principles on which she rests, and in carrying out those great principles in her practical career,— and she will prove, and be acknowledged to be, a glory and a praise in the earth. She is, moreover, extending her branches across the ocean, to Hindoostan, to the West India islands, and to Australia; where the authority of her prelates is gratefully acknowledged,—where her scriptural formularies are devoutly observed,—and where her beautiful liturgy is translated, and used in many of the native languages. Let her, then, in a spirit of watchful diligence and humble prayer, consecrate her resources to their legitimate object, the advancement of the Divine glory, and the salvation of the human race; and she will, indeed, be exhibited to the world, as a goodly "tree, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations!"

When Butler's family at Wantage heard that he had refused the primacy, imagining that he had done so on account of the heavy charges which would attend his entrance upon the high office, his nephew, John Butler, the wealthy and eccentric bachelor before alluded to, immediately hastened to London to his uncle, the bishop, and offered to advance him 20,000*l.*, or any other sum he might require, provided he would accept the splendid station which awaited him. Finding, however, that he was not to be moved from the line of proceeding which his conscience marked out; and disappointed that he did not eagerly seize an opportunity of adding further dignity to his own station, and of conferring advantage and honour upon his family; his well-meaning, but testy relative returned to Wantage greatly dissatisfied with his uncle, and impressed with an opinion, that, however he might be commended for Christian meekness, he was not to be lauded for worldly wisdom.

Towards the end of this year 1747, a lady of rank having solicited the advice of Butler upon a point of conscience, in reference to church property, he addressed to her the following letter.

"*London, December* 22, 1747.

"Madam,

"Your letter of the 14th current, which did not come to hand till the 18th, cannot, indeed, require any sort of apology. I know not how to

refuse my judgment, such as it is, in a case of conscience, to any person that asks it: but I think myself strictly bound to give it to good persons of my own diocese. For I mention only this demand you have upon me, because, upon such an occasion as the present, I do not chose to speak of your rank, madam, nor of the great civilities I have received from you.

"The corruption and disorder of human affairs is such as has perplexed the rule of right, and made it hard in some cases to say how one ought to act. But I apprehend there is no such difficulty in the case you put. Property in general is, and must be, regulated by the laws of the community. This, in general, I say, is allowed on all hands. If, therefore, there be any sort of property exempt from these regulations, or any exception to the general method of regulating it, such exception must appear, either from the light of nature, or from revelation. But, neither of these do, I think, show any such exception, and, therefore, we may with a good conscience retain any possessions, church lands, or tithes, which the laws of the state we live under give us a property in. And there seems less ground for scruple here in England than in some other countries; because our ecclesiastical laws agree with our civil ones in this matter. Under the Mosaic dispensation, indeed, God himself assigned to the priests and Levites, tithes, and other possessions: and in

those possessions they had a divine right; a property, quite superior to all human laws, ecclesiastical as well as civil. But every donation to the Christian church is a human donation, and no more; and therefore cannot give a divine right, but such a right only as must be subject in common with all other property to the regulation of human laws. I would not carry you, madam, into abstruse speculations; but think it might be clearly shown, that no one can have a right of perpetuity in any lands, except it be given by God, as the land of Canaan was to Abraham. There is no other means by which such a kind of property or right can be acquired: and plain absurdities would follow from the supposition of it. The persons then, who gave these lands to the church, had themselves no right of perpetuity in them, consequently, could convey no such right to the church. But all scruples concerning the lawfulness of laymen's possessing these lands go upon supposition, that the church has such a right of perpetuity in them: and, therefore, all those scruples must be groundless, as going upon a false supposition.

"As you do not mention, madam, in what particular light you consider this matter, I chose to put it in different ones. And having said thus much concerning the strict justice of the case, I think myself obliged to add, that great disorders having been committed at the Reformation, and

a multitude of parochial cures left scandalously poor, and become yet poorer by accidental circumstances, I think a man's possession of one of those impoverished cures is, not, indeed, an obligation in justice, but a providential admonition, to do somewhat, according to his abilities, towards settling some competent maintenance upon it, in one way or another. In like manner, as a person in distress, being my neighbour, dependent, or even acquaintance, is a providential admonition to me in particular, to assist him, over and above the general obligation to charity, which would call upon me to assist such a person, in common with all others who were informed of his case. But I think I ought to say, since I can say it with great truth, that I mention this, not, madam, as thinking that you want to be reminded of it, but as the subject itself I write upon requires it should be mentioned.

"You need not, madam, have given yourself the trouble of desiring secresy, since the thing itself so plainly demands it.

I am with the truest esteem, madam,
your most obedient, most faithful,
and most humble servant,
Jo. Bristol."

"I have considered tithes and church lands as the same, because I see no sort of proof, that tithes under the Gospel are of Divine right; and

if they are not, they must come under the same consideration with lands."

Upon the 31st of March in the following year, 1748, Bishop Butler preached the last of the Six Sermons delivered by him on various public occasions, and which are published with his other works. The first of these was preached in the parish church of St. Mary-le-Bow, for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, February 16, 1739; from Matt. xxiv. 14. The second was preached before the lord mayor and governors of the several hospitals of the city of London, in the church of St. Bridget, on the Monday in Easter week, 1740; from Proverbs xxii. 2. The third, before the House of Lords, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, on the 30th of Jan. 1741; from 1 Peter ii. 16. The fourth, in the parish church of Christ Church, London, May 9, 1745, being the anniversary of the meeting of the charity schools; from Proverbs xxii. 6. The fifth was delivered in Westminster Abbey, June 11, 1747, upon the anniversary of his Majesty's accession to the throne; from 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. And the last was preached before the Duke of Richmond, and the governors of the London Infirmary, at the parish church of St. Lawrence Jewry, as above stated, March 31, 1748; from 1 Peter iv. 8. As very important principles are unfolded in these sermons, in con-

nexion with the subjects of which they treat, they will well repay the labour of those who give them an attentive perusal.

There are some remarks, however, which occur in the Fifth Sermon, so appropriate to the tone and temper of the times, as to have suggested their introduction in their present place.

Upon the necessary restraints of civil liberty, Bishop Butler thus speaks :—"Of our free constitution of civil government, we seem to have a very high value. And if we would keep clear from abuses of it, it could not be over-valued; otherwise than as every thing may, when considered as respecting this world only. We seem, I say, sufficiently sensible of the value of our civil liberty. It is our daily boast, and we are in the highest degree jealous of it. Would to God we were somewhat more judicious in our jealousy of it, so as to guard against its chief enemy, one might say, the only enemy of it, we have at present to fear; I mean licentiousness: which has undermined so many free governments, and without whose treacherous help no free government, perhaps, ever was undermined. This licentiousness, indeed, is not only dangerous to liberty, but it is actually a present infringement of it in many instances."

Upon a religious establishment, and general toleration, he adds, "Liberty, which is the very genius of our civil constitution, and runs through

every branch of it, extends its influence to the ecclesiastical part of it. A religious establishment without a toleration of such as think they cannot in conscience conform to it, is itself a general tyranny; because it claims absolute authority over conscience; and would soon beget particular kinds of tyranny of the worst sort, tyranny over the mind, and various superstitions; after the way should be paved for them, as it soon must, by ignorance. On the other hand, a constitution of civil government without any religious establishment is a chimerical project, of which there is no example: and which, leaving the generality without guide and instruction, must leave religion to be sunk and forgotten amongst them; and at the same time give full scope to superstition, and the gloom of enthusiasm; which last, especially, ought surely to be diverted and checked, as far as it can be done without force."

When Bishop Butler spoke of a constitution of civil government, without any religious establishment, as a "chimerical project of which there was no example," the United States of America had not separated from Great Britain. The lamentable destitution of religious instruction in many of the more populous districts of that country, however, and throughout those which are more remote; (as appears from recent statistical accounts of high authority,) and the consequent ignorance and infidelity of the people, have strik-

ingly verified the remarks of the author of the *Analogy*.

Upon the corrupt doctrine, the exclusive claims, and the persecuting spirit of the church of Rome, he proceeds to say,—"It is to be remarked further, that the value of any particular religious establishment is not to be estimated merely by what it is in itself, but also by what it is in comparison with those of other nations; a comparison which will sufficiently teach us not to expect perfection in human things. And what is still more material, the value of our own ought to be very much heightened in our esteem, by considering what it is a security from; I mean, THAT GREAT CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIANITY, POPERY, WHICH IS EVER HARD AT WORK TO BRING US AGAIN UNDER ITS YOKE. Whoever will consider the popish claims, to the disposal of the whole earth, as of divine right, to dispense with the most sacred engagements, the claims to supreme absolute authority in religion; in short, the general claims which the canonists express by the words, plenitude of power—whoever, I say, will consider popery as it is professed at Rome, may see, that it is manifest, open usurpation of all human and Divine authority. But even in those Roman-catholic countries where these monstrous claims are not admitted, and the civil power does, in many respects, restrain the papal; yet persecution is professed, as it is absolutely enjoined by what is

acknowledged to be their highest authority, a general council, so called, with the Pope at the head of it; and is practised in all of them, I think without exception, where it can be done safely*. Thus they go on to substitute force instead of argument; and external profession made by force, instead of reasonable conviction. And thus corruptions of the grossest sort have been in vogue, for many generations, in many parts of Christendom; and are so still, even where popery obtains in its least absurd form: and their antiquity and wide extent are insisted upon as proofs of their truth; a kind of proof which at best can be only presumptive, but which loses all its little weight, in proportion as the long and large prevalence of such corruptions have been obtained by force."

It is not easy to conceive language which could more decidedly convey the writer's condemnation of the system of which he treats, than that which is here employed for the purpose.

Bishop Butler has stated, in general terms,

* It has often struck the writer of this *Memoir*, that, in the controversy between the church of England with the Romish church, the following distinction has not been sufficiently insisted upon;—that, when *the Protestant church* has exhibited a persecuting spirit, it has been under the secret influence of Popish leaven, and *a reference to her principles will condemn her conduct;* but when *the Romish church* becomes a persecuting church, *a reference to her principles* WILL JUSTIFY HER CONDUCT.

what the parliamentary remonstrance to James I. contained in a more concise form.

Speaking of popery, it remarks,—"It hath a restless spirit, and will strive by these gradations; if it once get but a connivance, it will press for toleration: if that should be obtained, papists must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to superiority, and will never rest till they get a subversion of the true religion." And the sentiments which the author of the *Analogy* addressed to his auditory, in his own quiet manner, are very similar, in point of meaning, to those which his friend Secker uttered, in his warmer style, when he said,—"The church of Rome has every where broken through all laws, human and divine, to destroy the Protestant religion. She has, indeed, omitted the exercise of her authority, whenever she durst not exercise it, but all her claims she hath constantly kept up; *and to this day she yearly excommunicates every prince in Christendom, who shall refuse obedience to any constitution of the Pope's, whatever.* Were she once to regain her ancient power in this land, she would soon resume her ancient fierceness. For no one instance can be given that popery ever spared Protestantism, for any continuance, after it was able *safely* to oppress it."

Bishop Butler foresaw, as clearly as the remonstrants, and Archbishop Secker, what were the tendencies of popery. He knew as well as

they did, that the errors of the church of Rome were not the less dangerous, because, in its theory, there was a recognition of the leading truths of Christianity. No one could more clearly perceive than himself, that while unmingled error is repulsive to a well-constituted mind, error blended with truth, and disseminated by those who are looked upon as the authorized expositors of truth, silently, but effectually works its mischief. And no one was more distinctly aware than he was, that the poison which is insidiously amalgamated with wholesome food, does not operate less fatally upon the physical system, than that which is recklessly taken with a full knowledge of its deleterious qualities. While he admonishes us, therefore, in opposition to the dreams of vain speculation, of enthusiasm, or infidelity, that, "our province is virtue and religion, life and manners; the science of improving the temper, and making the heart better;" and that, "this is the field assigned us to cultivate;"—and, while he points out, that attainments in personal holiness so far surpass the pursuit of speculative truth, that "he who should find out one rule to assist us in this work, will deserve infinitely better of mankind, than all the improvers of other knowledge put together*,"—no one would have been more ready than this powerful reasoner, to resist the aggressions of "THAT GREAT CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIANITY, POPERY, WHICH"

* Sermon *On the Ignorance of Man.*

(as he tells us,) "IS EVER HARD AT WORK TO BRING US AGAIN UNDER ITS YOKE." Had the tendency of the times, in which he lived, been, to remove the land-marks which separated Protestantism from popery; and to make them approximate, by softening the features which distinguish the true sons of the Reformation from the adherents of the Romish church, Bishop Butler would have been behind none in raising the voice of warning, to declare,—that, if the church of England should be induced to descend from the Scriptural position she assumed at the Reformation, and should renounce those Protestant principles which she has so wisely and so faithfully embodied in her Homilies and Articles, she would speedily resemble Sampson in the lap of Dalila, when he was shorn of his strength, —and would speedily have engraven upon her fair fabric, "ICHABOD! HER GLORY IS DEPARTED!"

Upon the propriety of opposing political measures which may not be approved, Bishop Butler thus speaks: "Indeed opposition, in a legal, regular way, to measures which a person thinks wrong, cannot but be allowed in a free government. It is in itself just, and also keeps up the spirit of liberty. But opposition, from indirect motives, to measures which he sees to be necessary, is itself immoral: it keeps up the spirit of licentiousness; is the greatest reproach of liberty, and in many ways, most dangerous to it; and has been a principal means of overturning

free governments. It is well, too, if the legal subjection to the government we live under, which may accompany such behaviour, be not the reverse of Christian subjection; subjection for wrath only, and not for conscience' sake. And one who wishes well to his country, will beware how he inflames the common people against measures, whether right or wrong, which they are not judges of. For no one can foresee how far such disaffection will extend; but every one sees, that it diminishes the reverence which is certainly owing to authority. Our due regards to these things are indeed instances of our loyalty, but they are, in reality, as much instances of our patriotism too. Happy the people who live under a prince, the justice of whose government renders them coincident."

The Discourse concludes with the following striking application: "Let us then value our civil constitution, not because it leaves us the power of acting as mere humour and passion carries us, in those respects in which governments less free lay men under restraints; but for its equal laws, by which the great are disabled from oppressing those below them. Let us transfer, each of us, the equity of this our civil constitution, to our whole personal character; and be sure to be as much afraid of subjection to mere arbitrary will and pleasure in ourselves, as to the arbitrary will of others. For the tyranny of our own lawless pas-

sions is the nearest and most dangerous of all tyrannies. Then, as to the other part of our constitution; let us value it, not because it leaves us at liberty to have as little religion as we please, without being accountable to human judicatories; but because it affords us the means and assistances to worship God according to his word; because it exhibits to our view, and enforces upon our conscience, genuine Christianity, free from the superstitions with which it is defiled in other countries. These superstitions naturally tend to *abate* its force; our profession of it in its purity, is a particular call upon us to yield ourselves up to its *full* influence; *to be pure in heart* *; *to be holy in all manner of conversation* †. Much of the form of godliness is laid aside amongst us: this itself should admonish us to attend more *to the power thereof* ‡. We have discarded many burdensome ceremonies: let us be the more careful to cultivate inward religion. We have thrown off a multitude of superstitious practices, which were called good works: let us the more abound in all moral virtues, these being unquestionably such. Thus our lives will justify and recommend the Reformation; and we shall *adorn the doctrine of God, our Saviour, in all things* §."

Toward the close of the following year, the bishop lost his eldest brother, Robert, who having

* Matt. v. 8. † 1 Peter i. 15. ‡ 2 Tim. iii. 5. § Tit. ii. 10.

amassed a considerable fortune, by carrying on the business of his father, that of a linen and woollen draper, in Wantage, died Nov. 30, 1749, aged 73. After making provision for his daughter, and grand-daughter, by a rent-charge upon his estate at Grove, which was purchased in 1729, and of which the bishop was his trustee, and after bequeathing small legacies to the poor of the respective parishes of Wantage, Charlton, Lockinge, and Grove, Robert Butler left the residue, both of his real and personal property, to his sons, Thomas, Robert, Jonathan, Joseph, and John.

This brother of the author of the *Analogy* proposed, during his life, to divide his property amongst his children; but his son John strongly objected to the measure. He said, that a parent ought never to give up his property, so as to render himself in danger of becoming dependent upon his offspring; declaring, that, for his own part, he would not receive any share of it, while his father lived.

Upon the death of Dr. Edward Chandler, in 1750, the see of Durham became vacant, and it was the wish of the king, that the bishop of Bristol should be translated to it. There were difficulties, however, in the proposed arrangements which alarmed the scrupulous mind of Butler, and for a time rendered it doubtful whether he would accept the distinguished mark of favour which his Majesty was anxious to show him. One of

these difficulties is thus stated by the lord bishop of Exeter, upon the authority of Mr. Emm, who was secretary to Bishop Barrington, after having, in early life, acted as under-secretary, to Butler: "Bishop Butler, as might be presumed, had not sought a translation to Durham; he was purely passive in it, and not absolutely passive. For, on his privately understanding that it was the intention of the Minister, the duke of Newcastle, to confer the lord lieutenancy, which had hitherto gone with the palatine see, on the Lord Barnard, Butler gave it to be understood, that he had not the slightest wish to move to Durham, and was content to stay where he was; but he would not consent to the see of Durham losing a single honour, which it had been accustomed to enjoy, on occasion of his succeeding to it. The lord lieutenancy, therefore, inappropriate as it might be justly deemed, to the mitre even of Durham, was not withdrawn from it, till the next vacancy."

The traditionary account of this transaction in the family of the bishop, states, that when he received a letter from the minister, to inform him of his Majesty's pleasure, he immediately wrote, to express his dutiful acknowledgments to the king; but, for the reason given, he declined the proposed translation. He is reported to have said, that, "it was a matter of indifference to him, whether he died bishop of Bristol, or of Durham; but that it was *not* a matter of indifference to him,

whether or not the honours of the see were invaded during his incumbency; and he therefore begged to be allowed to continue bishop of Bristol." He very shortly afterwards received another letter from the minister, to inform him, that "it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should become bishop of Durham, without any condition whatever."

Neither was this the only difficulty in the way of Butler's translation to Durham. "Another instance of his delicacy of feeling on this occasion, (says the bishop of Exeter, upon the authority of Mr. Emm), will be more accordant with general opinion. On his translation, the deanery of St. Paul's was to be vacated. The minister wished to give it to Butler's oldest and best friend, Secker, who held a stall at Durham, which, in that case, it was proposed that the crown should give to Dr. Chapman. Unfortunately, the arrangement was mentioned to Butler *before* he was translated; and highly gratifying as it would be to him for Secker's sake, his conscience took alarm, lest it should bear *even the semblance of a condition of his own promotion.* He for some time hesitated, in consequence, to accept the splendid station which solicited him; nor did he yield, till his scruple respecting all possible notion of condition was utterly removed."

The bishop of Bristol regarded his approaching change of diocese, with the natural anxiety of a

conscientious mind, when it reflects upon the numerous responsibilities which surround the possessor of wealth and power. His feelings may be gathered from some letters which he addressed to two individuals, who had written to congratulate him upon it. The first is to a stranger, who appears to have shared the general satisfaction with which the translation of Butler to Durham, was contemplated by the public; and the other to a friend, to whom he states, somewhat more at large, his views and feelings upon the subject.

"Good Sir,

"When, or where, this will find you, I know not; but I would not defer thanking you for the obliging satisfaction you express, in my translation to the see of Durham. I wish my behaviour in it, may be such as to justify his Majesty's choice, and the approbation of it, which you (much too kindly I suppose) think to be general. If one is enabled to do a little good, and to prefer worthy men, this indeed is a valuable of life, and will afford satisfaction in the close of it; but the change of station in itself, will in no wise answer the trouble of it, and of getting into new forms of living: I mean with respect to the peace and happiness of one's own mind, for in fortune, to be sure it will.

"I am, &c."

"*Bristol, Aug.* 13, 1750."

"My good Friend,

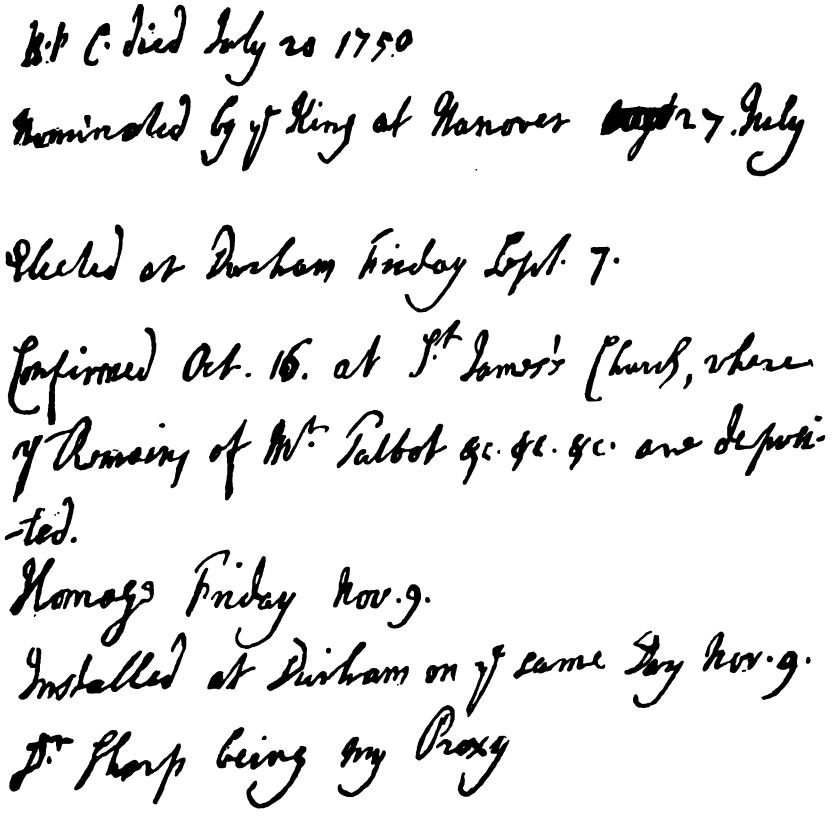
"I should have been mighty glad of the favour of a visit from you, when you were in town. I thank you for your kind congratulations, though I am not without my doubts and fears, how far the occasion of them is a real subject of congratulation to me. Increase of fortune is insignificant to one who thought he had enough before; and I foresee many difficulties in the station I am coming into, and no advantage worth thinking of, except some greater power of being serviceable to others; and whether this be an advantage, entirely depends on the use one shall make of it; I pray God it may be a good one. It would be a melancholy thing in the close of life, to have no reflections to entertain one's self with, but that one had spent the revenues of the bishoprick of Durham, in a sumptuous course of living, and enriched one's friends with the promotions of it, instead of having really set one's self to do good, and promote worthy men; yet this right use of fortune and power is more difficult than the generality of even good people think, and requires both a guard upon one's self, and a strength of mind, to withstand solicitations, greater, I wish I may not find it, than I am master of. I pray God preserve your health, and am always,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and Servant,

JOSEPH DUNELM."

Amongst his memoranda of this period, appear the following notices, which are given in a facsimile of the writer's autograph:


B:p C: died July 20 1750
Nominated by ye King at Hanover Aug.t 27. July
Elected at Durham Friday Sept. 7.
Confirmed Oct. 16. at St. James's Church, where
ye Remains of Wm. Talbot &c. &c. &c. are deposited.
Homage Friday Nov. 9.
Installed at Durham on ye same Day Nov. 9.
Dr. Sharp being my Proxy

Bishop Butler left London to return to his diocese this year in July, and remained there until his final departure from it at the beginning of November. The last official act which he has

recorded, in connexion with the see of Bistol, is the confirmation alluded to in the preceding fac-simile.

Having to attend upon his duties in London during the winter, as a peer of Parliament, he did not take actual possession of his new see, until Friday, June 28, in the next year: when, upon his arrival in his diocese, the following address was delivered by the Rev. Sir John Dolben, the sub-dean of Durham, in the name of the dean and chapter:—

"My Lord,

In the absence of Mr. Dean, it devolves upon me, of course, as sub-dean, to have the honour of congratulating your lordship, upon your accession to this see, and your arrival in your diocese, in the name of the dean and chapter of Durham.

"No employment, my lord, could be more agreeable to me, were I not afraid of falling short of what might be justly expected from me, upon this great occasion: and though there are none of my brethren, who would not better acquit themselves of this charge, than one so advanced in years, and loaded with infirmities, as I am, yet there can be none, who more truly rejoices at your lordship's presence amongst us. But I forget myself; and out of the abundance of the heart, my own particular satisfaction is too ready to break forth;

whereas, I ought to say nothing of myself, but only to speak as the representative of our reverend body.

"In their name, then, my lord, I most humbly and heartily congratulate your lordship once more; I congratulate the diocese and county palatine, upon the happy completion of all their wishes. It is with great pleasure (I speak it knowingly, my lord), that the gentlemen of the country see one, whose politeness and generosity they have already had experience of, at the head of the palatinate; it is with the utmost joy, that the clergy of the diocese find your lordship become their bishop, whose known learning and piety, make them sure of all that they can wish for from you; but, in a particular manner, the dean and chapter have reason to rejoice; most of whom have long had the honour of knowing your lordship personally: and nothing else can be wanting to assure them of every good quality, that can be desired in a diocesan. Your lordship's great erudition and abilities (talents which you have not laid up in a napkin) have already so eminently distinguished you, upon many occasions, that the church in general, will always be secure of an able and vigorous champion in your lordship, whenever her faith or doctrines, her rights and privileges, shall be attacked or broken in upon.

"Your learned predecessor, my lord, like a true servant of Christ, boldly entered the lists with

his master's professed enemies, and triumphed over them gloriously; and has, we trust, received the reward of his labours, from the Captain of his Salvation, in that transporting compellation, 'Well fought thou good and valiant soldier!' And though we are deprived of so great a leader and gallant defender of the faith, yet, God be praised,

Non deficit alter.

"As your lordship is now vested with the same honours and dignities, we doubt not but that, whenever there shall be a cry of the Philistines being upon us, you will look upon this as a fresh obligation again to arise, and exert yourself in the defence of our most holy religion.

"Long may this church and county be happy under your lordship's government and protection! And may you enjoy these high honours and dignities at least as long as my ever-honoured lord and patron, my Lord Crewe, did! And as your lordship's mild and candid temper, your gracious manner, your gentlemanlike behaviour, your kind and courteous reception of persons of all ranks and denominations, and your boundless charities, (of which your diocese has already received such unexpected and bountiful earnests) recal that noble prelate to the minds of all those who knew him; so your dean and chapter cannot frame to themselves better wishes for your lordship, than that you may, like him, be loved and reverenced to an extreme old age; that you may live in the

same perfect and uninterrupted course of health and prosperity; and that, whenever it shall please God to exalt your lordship to a higher throne, your loss may be as much regretted, that you may leave an odour of as sweet a name, and as little worldly treasure behind you!"

To this address the bishop replied:—

"I am much obliged to you, gentlemen, for your congratulations. 'Tis with a very real sense of my little merits and abilities, that I come to preside over a church of such distinction, as this of Durham: and the more, from the great learning and abilities of my predecessors. But I shall endeavour, by acting suitably to our profession and my station, to answer what, I am sure, was his Majesty's intention in placing me here. And from my knowledge, and particular acquaintance among you, I promise myself, that I shall have your advice and assistance upon all occasions, as the exigence of cases may require.

"As for your kind manner of expressing yourselves concerning my character and behaviour, this I shall make use of to remind myself of my duty: and you must give me leave to consider it, too, as a declaration (of which, however, I had no doubt) that I shall have your concurrence, and your assistance in any good design, which may offer, for the benefit of the diocese or country."

CHAPTER VI.

Plan for episcopacy in America.—Mr. Pitt's remark on ditto.—Contrast between Butler's plan and Laud's.—Butler's plan favoured by Sherlock; revived by Secker.—Controversy respecting it.—Dr. Mayhew's pamphlet.—Secker's answer to ditto.—Apthorpe's ditto.—Secker harshly treated by Dissenters.—Claims of Society for Propagation of Gospel.

About this time Bishop Butler turned his attention to the importance of introducing episcopacy into North America, and drew up a plan for that purpose, which, not being adopted at the time, was again brought under the consideration of government some years after his decease. This plan appears in p. 55 of Mr. Apthorpe's *Review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks*, and also in the *Annual Register* of 1765, where it is thus alluded to, (p. 108): "The following plan for introducing episcopacy in North America, as laid down by Bishop Butler in 1750, has been for some time, it is said, under the consideration of the government.

"1. That no coercive power is desired over the laity in any case, but only a power to regulate the behaviour of the clergy who are in episcopal orders; and to correct and punish them according to the laws of the Church of England, in case of misbehaviour or neglect of duty, with such power as the commissaries abroad have exercised.

"2. That nothing is desired for such bishops, that may in the least interfere with the dignity, or authority, or interest of the governor, or any other office of state. Probates of wills, license for marriages, &c., to be left in the hands where they are; and no share in the temporal government is desired for bishops.

"3. The maintenance of such bishops not to be at the charge of the colonies.

"4. No bishops are intended to be settled in places where the government is left in the hands of Dissenters, as in New England, &c. But authority to be given, only to ordain clergy for such church of England congregations as are among them, and to inspect into the manners and behaviour of the said clergy, and to confirm the members thereof."

It is much to be regretted, that the deliberations of the government upon this reasonable and important measure should have terminated without its adoption. It is said to have been the opinion of that distinguished statesman, Mr. Pitt, that, had the church of England been efficiently established in the United States, it was highly probable that those states would not have been separated from Great Britain. That Bishop Butler's suggestions for the introduction of episcopacy into America were inoffensive in their bearing upon nonconformity, is evident from the language in which they are *now* spoken of by Dis-

senters themselves. In a note to Dr. Edmund Calamy's *Historical Account of his own Life*, edited by J. T. Rutt, is the following allusion to Butler's plan, in contrast with one of an earlier period, by Archbishop Laud:

"Among successive proposals for American bishops, was one in 1750, by Bishop Butler. It consisted of four articles, *all wisely calculated to prevent or allay anti-episcopalian jealousy*. There had been in 1638, a project, as opposite, probably, in its design and tendency, as was the mental temperament of the two episcopal projectors. It has not, I believe, been generally noticed how narrowly America then escaped a prescription from Dr. Laud, that physician to the body politic, whose desperate remedies proved at last too powerful for himself. But this design was strangled in the first conception, by the violent breaking out of the troubles in Scotland." See *Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life and Death of Wm. Laud*, 1671, p. 347.—*Life of Calamy*, vol. ii. p. 335.

Although Bishop Butler's proposal, as admitted by this writer, "consisted of four articles, *all wisely calculated to prevent or allay anti-episcopal jealousy*," the bare rumour of it was received with extreme alarm by Dissenters in the colonies. The terror, which the plan of Archbishop Laud inspired, appears to have rendered them incompetent to contemplate with calmness

the unexceptionable design of Bishop Butler. Allusion is made to this subject by Dr. Sherlock, bishop of London, in a letter to Dr. Doddridge, dated May 11, 1751; in which he also refers to the step adopted by himself, to assist the attainment of the object which Bishop Butler had in view:

"The care of the Church of England, as an episcopal church, is supposed to be in the bishop of London: how he comes to be charged with this care I will not now inquire; but sure I am, that the care is improperly lodged: for a bishop to live at one end of the world and his church at another, must make the office very uncomfortable to the bishop, and, in a great measure, useless to the people. With respect to ordinations, it has a very ill effect. The people of the country are discouraged from bringing up their children for the ministry, because of the hazard and expense of sending them to England to take orders, where they often get the small-pox, a distemper fatal to the natives of those countries. Of those who are sent from hence, a great part are of the Scotch or Irish, who can get no employment at home, and enter into the service more out of necessity than choice; some others are willing to go abroad to retrieve either lost fortunes or lost characters. For these reasons, and others of no less weight, I did apply to the king as soon as I was bishop of

London, to have two or three bishops appointed for the plantations, to reside there. I thought there could be no reasonable objection to it, not even from Dissenters, as the bishops proposed were to have no jurisdiction but over the clergy of their own church, and no more over them than should enable them to see the pastoral office duly performed. And as to New England, where the Dissenters are so numerous, it never was proposed to settle a bishop in the country. You are, probably, no stranger to the manner in which the news of this proposal was received in New England; if you are, I will only say that they used all their influence to obstruct the settling bishops in the episcopal church there. Was this consistent even with a spirit of toleration? would they think themselves tolerated if they were debarred the right of appointing ministers among themselves, and were obliged to send all their candidates to Geneva or Scotland for orders? At the same time that they gave this opposition, they set up a mission of their own for Virginia, a country entirely episcopal, by authority of their synod. And in their own country, where they have the power, they have prosecuted and imprisoned several members of our church for not paying towards supporting the dissenting preachers, though no such charge can, by any colour of law, be imposed on them: this has been the case in New England. I am sorry to add that some here, for whose cha-

racters and abilities I have due esteem, have not, upon this occasion, given signs of the temper and moderation that were expected from them. I do not willingly enter into these complaints even to you, who, I am confident, will make no ill use of them. I wish there was no occasion for them: in this wish I am sure of your concurrence, from the love you bear to our common Christianity.

I am, Sir,
Your affectionate friend and very
humble servant,
THO. LONDON*."

The project of Bishop Butler for the introduction of episcopacy into North America was afterwards revived, and advocated by Archbishop Secker, which led again to much misapprehension on the part of the Dissenters. A pamphlet of 147 pages was written on the subject, in 1763, by Dr. Mayhew, of Boston in New England, intitled *Observations on the charter and conduct of the society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, designed to show their* NONCONFORMITY *to each other.* To this pamphlet, Secker, the following year, anonymously replied, in *An answer to Dr. Mayhew's observations, &c.;* and explained the only plan which had been contemplated for the purpose alluded to. The extracts

* Vide *The Correspondence and Diary of Dr. Doddridge*, edited by his great grandson, J. D. Humphreys, Esq.

now given, which are cited from the fourth section of the *Observations, &c.*, will show the feelings entertained by the writer upon the subject, and also the high respect he entertained for the character and talents of Bishop Butler:

"The name itself by which this respectable corporation is distinguished and known, is agreeable to the spirit of the charter as before explained: *The society for the Propagation of the Gospel, &c.* From this name or title any one would naturally conclude, that if heathens and barbarians were not the more immediate objects of the charitable institution, but only the more remote; yet, it had for its object people in very deplorable circumstances at best; such as were in a manner destitute of God's word and sacraments, or the means of grace. It would never enter into any one's heart to conceive, that any part of its design was, the building up any one Protestant church on the ruins of others. Thus the name of the society, and the charter, will agree. But according to some things which Mr. Apthorp and others have advanced, not to say at present, according to some proceedings of the society, it ought rather to have been called, 'The society for propagating the church of England, in those parts where the administration of God's word and sacraments is provided for, after the congregational and presbyterian modes.' "The sermons preached annu-

ally before the society, in the general strain and tenour of them, correspond very exactly to the noble design of the institution, as before represented. The grand topic insisted on in them, is promoting The Gospel; the undoubted doctrines and duties of the Christian religion. The preachers on these occasions seem evidently, however, to have had the heathen in their minds, rather than professed Christians, who only needed assistance in order to the support of God's worship and ordinances: in which respect the sermons rather coincide with the ultimate, than the more immediate design of the institution; and so harmonize rather more perhaps with the seal and name of the Society, than with the charter. This is not said with the least design to reflect on the preachers of them, as if they had forgotten the design of the institution, which is, indeed, kept in view in those sermons; though, as was intimated before, the ultimate design of the institution is much more enlarged on, than the primary or more direct. And the grand argument insisted on, to induce good people of all denominations to assist the Society with their charity, is, the common cause of Christianity; partly for supporting the public worship of God in those British colonies, where it could not be tolerably supported without such assistance; but chiefly for the sake of the poor heathen slaves and savages, in, or bordering on, the English plantations: an argument which has been handled

with the greatest propriety and pathos in these sermons; and has doubtless drawn some thousands of pounds from Protestant dissenters in England. I have read many of these excellent sermons, both the very earliest, and those preached from time to time since; and have many of them now by me: so that it were easy to fill volumes with quotations to exemplify and prove what is here asserted concerning the general strain of them. But I am not willing needlessly to load and swell the present publication, by quotations to prove what, it is taken for granted, no person who knows any thing of the matter, and either has or deserves the least reputation, will presume to deny. But by way of specimen, for the sake of those who may not have read any of these sermons, some extracts shall be subjoined from the late Bishop Butler's sermon before the Society, 1739: a great ornament of the episcopal order, and of the Church of England; the clearness of whose head, the precision of whose language, and the goodness of whose heart, are so conspicuous in all his writings:

"'No one has a right to be called a Christian,' says he, 'who doth not do somewhat in his station towards the discharge of this trust;' (meaning the Gospel, which he considers as a trust;) 'who doth not, for instance, assist in keeping up *the profession of* Christianity where he lives: and it is an obligation but little more remote, to assist in doing it

in our factories abroad, and in the colonies to which we are related. Of these our colonies, the slaves ought to be considered as inferior *members*, and therefore to be treated as *members* of them; and not merely as cattle or goods, the property of their masters. Nor can the highest property, possible to be acquired in these servants, cancel the obligation to take care of their religious instruction. Despicable as they may appear in our eyes, they are the creatures of God, and of the race of mankind, for whom Christ died. And it is *inexcusable* to keep them in ignorance of the end, for which they were made; and the means, whereby they may become partakers of the *general redemption, &c.* The like charity we owe to the *natives;* owe to them in a much stricter sense than we are apt to consider, were it only from neighbourhood, and our having gotten possessions in their country. For incidental circumstances of this kind appropriate all the general obligations of charity to particular persons; and make such and such instances of it, the duty of one man rather than another. We are most strictly bound to consider these *poor uninformed creatures, &c.* And it may be some encouragement to cheerful perseverance *in these endeavours,* to observe, not only that they are our duty, but also that they seem the means of carrying on a great scheme of Providence, which shall certainly be accomplished. *For the everlasting Gospel shall be preached to*

every nation: And the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.'

"After discoursing for two or three pages concerning the good effects that might be reasonably expected from these pious endeavours to propagate Christianity, he goes on thus:—' The design before us being then unquestionably good, it were much to be wished that serious men *of all denominations* would join in it. And let me add, that the foregoing view of things affords distinct reasons why they should. For, first, by so doing, they assist in a work of *the most useful importance*, that of spreading over the world the Scripture itself, as a Divine Revelation: and it cannot be spread under this character, for a continuance, in any country, unless Christian churches be supported there; but will always more or less, so long as such churches subsist; and, therefore, their subsistence ought to be provided for. In the next place, they (viz., serious men of all denominations) should remember, that if Christianity is to be propagated at all, which they acknowledge it should, it must be in *some particular form of profession*. And though they think *ours* liable to objections, &c. Upon the whole, therefore, *these persons* would do well to consider, how far they can with reason *satisfy themselves* in neglecting what is *certainly right*, on account of what is *doubtful*, whether it be wrong.'

"Thus Dr. Butler, with his usual penetration and accuracy, represents the true design of this noble institution, in its whole view, compass, and extent. And how cogent is his reasoning to induce serious men of all denominations in England to join in, and contribute towards carrying it into execution, upon the true *original* plan! But let me just ask by the way, what force there would be in this excellent reasoning, to induce Protestant dissenters in England to assist the Society, upon supposition it was a known fact, that the Society deviated very essentially from this noble plan, by applying a large proportion of their fund in supporting a party in America, and undermining the congregational and presbyterian churches here? Could it be reasonably supposed, that those of the same religious principles in England would assist the Society in any designs or endeavours against their brethren in New England? or in promoting episcopacy here, in opposition to the churches of their own denomination? or could any preacher on those occasions, who knew this to be the fact, with integrity and uprightness make use of arguments of this catholic strain, in order to get money out of the pockets of English dissenters? I am fully persuaded that the great and good Bishop Butler would have detested such an artifice, and even the whole scheme of planting and supporting episcopal churches in divers places in America, had he been apprized of the true state of

religion in them. The foregoing extracts from his sermon, as was intimated before, are given only as a specimen of what is the usual strain of the sermons preached on the same occasion. Though I am not insensible, that some of them, especially within the last twenty years, have expressions in them of a much less catholic strain, and quite alien from the spirit of the charter."—P. 26—31.

To this, Archbishop Secker observes:—

"The Church of England is, in its constitution, episcopal. It is, in some of the plantations, confessedly the Established church: in the rest are many congregations adhering to it; and through the late extension of the British dominions, and the influence of other causes, it is likely that there will be more. All members of every church are, according to the principles of liberty, entitled to every part of what they conceive to be the benefits of it, entire and complete, so far as consists with the welfare of civil government. Yet the members of our church in America do not thus enjoy its benefits, having no Protestant bishop within three thousand miles of them; a case, which never had its parallel before in the Christian world. Therefore, it is desired that two or more bishops may be appointed for them, to reside where his Majesty shall think most

convenient; that they may have no concern in the least with any persons who do not profess themselves to be of the Church of England, but may ordain ministers for such as do; may confirm their children, when brought to them at a fit age for that purpose; and take such oversight of the episcopal clergy, as the bishop of London's commissaries in those parts have been empowered to take, and have taken, without offence. But it is not desired in the least that they should hold courts to try matrimonial or testamentary causes; or be vested with any authority, now exercised either by provincial governors, or subordinate magistrates; or infringe, or diminish any privileges and liberties, enjoyed by any of the laity, even of our own communion. This is the real and the only scheme that hath been planned for bishops in America; and who ever hath heard of any other, hath been misinformed through mistake or design." And his grace further declares that, "no person hath once named or thought of New England as a proper place for the residence of one; but episcopal colonies have always been proposed."—P. 59. He adds, at p. 62,—"Bishop Butler, whom the doctor praises so highly and so justly, was a hearty friend to this scheme, and left 500*l.* to the Society. Bishop Benson, whose Christian and catholic temper is well-known to almost as many as ever heard his name, bequeathed to it such a legacy as he was able, *to be added to the*

fund for settling bishops in our plantations in America; hoping (these are his own words) *that a design, so necessary and unexceptionable, cannot but at last be put in execution.*"

To the answer of Secker, Dr. Mayhew published a rejoinder, in 1764, termed *Remarks on an anonymous Tract, intitled 'An answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations,' &c.* In the opening of his *Remarks*, he thus speaks of his opponent:—"The author of the tract before me is doubtless a person of excellent sense, and an happy talent at writing; apparently free from the sordid, illiberal spirit of bigotry; one of a cool temper, and who often shows much candour; well acquainted with the affairs of the Society, and, in general, a fair reasoner. To say this, is but doing justice to the merits of an opponent; a species of justice too seldom found in controversial writers." At p. 59, Dr. Mayhew observes,—"The gentleman, I must own, has, in his scheme, set this proposal for American bishops in a more plausible, and less exceptionable point of view, than I have seen it placed in before."

"To speak for myself, then, I am one of those who have been thus *misinformed;* and, I know of others who have been so, in common with me. I did not suppose, the *true* scheme was, that American bishops should have *no* concern, but with *episcopalians;* or that they should be wholly confined to the *sacred* offices aforesaid."

In 1765, *A review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks, &c.*, was published, by "East Apthorp, A.M.," (who had been a missionary in North America,) in which, in allusion to the doubt expressed about the nature of "*The true scheme,*" the writer states, —"Successive proposals for American bishops have been made at different times, through a long course of years, by men of high rank and character in the church; and, are ready now for the perusal of any worthy person, who shall declare himself unsatisfied in this point: all which agree with what the answerer has averred. One of them, perhaps, may have peculiar weight with the doctor; I mean, that made in the year 1750, by the excellent Bishop Butler, in the doctor's own judgment 'a great ornament of the episcopal order, and of the Church of England.' This scheme, with which the writer was favoured by a gentleman of distinction in Boston, (William Vassal, Esq.) is in the bishop's own hand-writing, of which the following is an exact transcript." Having then introduced the plan, which has been already given in this volume, he adds, "This plan is so exactly similar to that in the *Answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations*, (p. 60,) that it cannot be doubted they are the same, and that it is the only one intended to be put in execution. And it is such a simple and beautiful model of the most ancient and moderate episcopacy; that it should, not only remove all the doctor's apprehensions, but the

scruples of every rational and learned dissenter against that apostolic form of government."

With Mr. Apthorp's *Review, &c.*, the controversy ended. Dr. Mayhew, upon reading it, declared that he should no longer carry on the discussion by answering it, and in the following year he died.

Although, as Dr. Porteus also remarks, "it is certain that this mode of establishing bishops in America, was not invented merely 'to serve a present turn,' being precisely the same with that proposed by Bishop Butler twenty years ago;' it brought upon the English metropolitan much harsh and unkind treatment, at the hands of those who differed from his views of episcopacy. "Posterity will stand amazed," observes his biographer, "when they are told, that on this account, his memory has been pursued in pamphlets and newspapers, with such unrelenting rancour, such unexampled wantonness of abuse, as he would scarce have deserved, had he attempted to eradicate Christianity out of America, and to introduce Mahometanism in its room: whereas, the plain truth is, that all he wished for, was nothing more than what the very best friends to religious freedom ever have wished for, *a complete toleration for the Church of England in that country* *."

In dismissing this subject, it must be remarked, that the claims of the "Society for the Propaga-

* Porteus's *Life of Secker*, p. 55.

tion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," for increased support, have never been so powerful, as they are at the present moment. The withdrawal of the government grant, has thrown it more entirely upon the sympathies of the country; while the tide of emigration, which is setting in so strongly, toward the shores of the American and Australian colonies, appeals, in language the most forcible, to the liberality of the Christian public.

CHAPTER VII.

Lowth removed into Butler's diocese.—The Durham Charge.—Controversy that arose out of it.—Bishop Halifax's account of the controversy.

SCARCELY had Butler removed to Durham when he was gratified by an arrangement which brought into his diocese a divine, for whom he deservedly entertained a high respect. Dr. Lowth, afterwards bishop of London, had been appointed chaplain to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, the duke of Devonshire, and while there, was offered the see of Kilmore. Being anxious to leave Ireland, and knowing that Mr. Leslie, the rector of Sedgefield, and a prebendary of Durham, was as anxious to settle in Ireland, it was proposed that an exchange should be made which would meet the taste of both parties. When Butler, therefore, collated Dr. Lowth to the preferment which Leslie vacated, "he expressed a well-natured exultation on this double gratification of mutual wishes, and, perhaps allowably, with a secret preference for superior talents*." He exceedingly rejoiced to have Lowth at Durham.

This eminent divine, who was successively bishop of St. David's, Oxford, and London, and who died Nov. 3, 1787, first distinguished himself

* *Annual Register*, 1787.

as Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, in 1741. In this capacity he delivered his celebrated lectures, *De sacrâ poesi Hebræorum*, which were afterwards published. His valuable translation of the prophecy of Isaiah, was not given to the world until 1778. Doctor Lowth was not only an accurate and critical Hebraist, but a most elegant Latin scholar*.

Shortly after his actual arrival in his diocese, Bishop Butler assembled his clergy for the purpose of addressing to them his primary, and indeed, as it pleased Divine Providence to order it, his only charge. At the period when this charge was delivered, there was not only a great decline of vital godliness, but an alarming and unblushing acknowledgment of sceptical opinions. The public worship of the Most High was neglected, the outward forms of religion were laid aside, and there was a danger of a large portion of the population, especially those of the higher classes, running into open and avowed infidelity. Butler, therefore, attempted

* Of the purity of his Latin style, his touching lines on the death of his daughter, which are inscribed upon her tomb, will furnish an interesting specimen:

Cara, vale, ingenio præstans, pietate, pudore,
Et plusquam natæ nomine cara, vale!
Cara Maria, vale! At veniet felicius ævum,
Quando iterum tecum, sim modo dignus, ero.
Cara, redi, læta tum dicam voce, paternas,
Eja, age in amplexus, cara Maria, redi!"

to stem this torrent of evil, by calling the attention of his clergy to "the importance of external religion;" justly conceiving, that while the outward form of piety was contemned, there could be but little reverence for the inward spirit of it; and that to bring back the people to a due respect to the outward ordinances, would, as a means to an end, advance them, under the Divine blessing, on their way towards the attainment of the inward spirit of piety. Such was the ground assumed by the bishop in his charge; and the view he took of the unhallowed tone and temper of the times appears very decidedly in the opening of it, as given with other extracts from it, in the latter part of this volume.

This charge, then, which will well repay a serious perusal, will be found, if regarded by an unprejudiced eye, to have pointed out the proper medium between the trammels of superstition, and the reckless abandonment of all outward forms. It will appear peculiarly appropriate to the present period, when a disposition is growing up, on the one hand, to degrade sacred rites, and to secularize sacred ordinances; and when an attempt is made, on the other, to exalt them unduly, by exhibiting the outward emblem as almost identical with the spiritual thing represented by it. Had the temper of the times, in which Butler flourished, encouraged an unscriptural dependence upon the externals of religion,

instead of an open desecration of them, it ought not to be doubted, but that this mighty reasoner would as readily have " buckled on his armour" to denounce the perils attending a reliance upon " the form of godliness without the power," as he did to expose the danger of losing sight of the power, by abandoning the forms of religion.

Soon after the publication of the charge, a pamphlet appeared, intitled, *A serious Inquiry into the use and importance of External Religion, occasioned by some passages in the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham's Charge to the Clergy of that Diocese; humbly addressed to his Lordship.* Upon the controversy which grew out of this charge, Bishop Halifax has so clearly and satisfactorily written, in his preface to his edition of Butler's Works, that it would be unjust to the friendly labours of this prelate, not to cite some of the leading portions of that preface. It will, however, be proper to mention, that, in the course of the attacks which were made upon the Durham charge, the author of it was represented as " addicted to superstition," " inclined to popery," and as " dying in the communion of the church of Rome."

" The principal design of the bishop in his charge," remarks Bishop Halifax, " is to exhort his clergy to do their part towards reviving a practical sense of religion amongst the people committed to their care: and, as one way of effecting

this, to instruct them in the importance of external religion, or the usefulness of outward observances in promoting inward piety. Now, from the compound nature of man, consisting of two parts, the body and the mind, together with the influence which these are found to have on one another, it follows, that the religious regards of such a creature ought to be so framed, as to be in some way properly accommodated to both. A religion which is purely spiritual, stript of every thing that may affect the senses, and considered only as a divine philosophy of the mind, if it do not mount up into enthusiasm, as has frequently been the case, often sinks, after a few short fervours, into indifference: an abstracted invisible object, like that which natural religion offers, ceases to move or interest the heart; and something further is wanting to bring it nearer, and render it more present to our view, than merely an intellectual contemplation. On the other hand, when, in order to remedy this inconvenience, recourse is had to instituted forms and ritual injunctions, there is always danger lest men be tempted to rest entirely on these, and persuade themselves that a painful attention to such observances will atone for the want of genuine piety and virtue. Yet, surely, there is a way of steering safely between these two extremes; of so consulting both the parts of our constitution, that the body and the mind may concur in rendering our religious services accept-

able to God, and at the same time useful to ourselves. And what way can this be, but precisely that which is recommended in the Charge; such a cultivation of outward as well as inward religion, that from both may result, what is the point chiefly to be laboured, and at all events to be secured, a correspondent temper and behaviour; or, in other words, such an application of the forms of godliness, as may be subservient in promoting the power and spirit of it?"

"No man, who believes the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and understands what he believes, but must know, that external religion is as much enjoined, and constitutes as real a part of revelation, as that which is internal. The many ceremonies in use among the Jews, in consequence of a divine command; the baptism of water, as an emblem of moral purity; the eating and drinking of bread and wine, as symbols and representations of the body and blood of Christ, required of Christians, are proofs of this. On comparing these two parts of religion together, one, it is immediately seen, is of much greater importance than the other; and whenever they happen to interfere, is always to be preferred: but does it follow from hence, that therefore that other is of little or no importance, and, in cases where there is no competition, may entirely be neglected? Or rather, is not the legitimate conclusion directly the reverse, that nothing is to be looked upon as of little impor-

tance, which is of any use at all in preserving upon our minds a sense of the Divine authority, which recalls to our remembrance the obligations we are under, and helps to keep us, as the Scripture expresses it, in the 'fear of the Lord all the day long?' If, to adopt the instance mentioned in the Charge, the sight of a church should remind a man of some sentiment of piety; if, from the view of a material building, dedicated to the service of God, he should be led to regard himself, his own body, as a living 'temple of the Holy Ghost,' and therefore no more than the other to be profaned or desecrated by anything that defileth, or is impure; could it be truly said of such an one that he was superstitious, or mistook the means of religion for the end?

"If, to use another, and what has been thought a more obnoxious instance, taken from the bishop's practice, a cross erected in a place of public worship, should cause us to reflect on Him who died on the cross for our salvation, and on the necessity of our own dying to sin, and of crucifying the flesh with its affections and lusts; would any worse consequences follow from such sentiments so excited, than if the same sentiments had been excited by the view of a picture of the crucifixion suppose, such as is commonly placed, and with this very design, in foreign churches, and indeed, in many of our own?

"Both the instances here adduced, it is very

possible, may be far from being approved even by those who are under the most sincere convictions of the importance of true religion; and it is easy to conceive, how open to scorn and censure they must be from others, who think they have a talent for ridicule, and have accustomed themselves to regard all pretensions to piety as hypocritical, or superstitious. But wisdom is justified of her children. Religion is what it is, 'whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear;' and whatever in the smallest degree promotes its interests and assists us in performing its commands, whether that assistance be derived from the medium of the body or the mind, ought to be esteemed of great weight, and deserving of our most serious attention.

"However, be the danger of superstition what it may, no one was more sensible of that danger, or more in earnest in maintaining, that external acts of themselves are nothing, and that moral holiness, as distinguished from bodily observances of every kind, is that which constitutes the essence of religion, than Bishop Butler.

"Not only the Charge itself, the whole intention of which is plainly nothing more than to enforce the necessity of practical religion, the reality as well as form, is a demonstration of this, but many passages besides, to the same purpose, selected from his other writings. Take the two following, as specimens.

"In his *Analogy*, he observes thus: 'Though mankind have, in all ages, been greatly prone to place their religion in peculiar positive rites, by way of equivalent for obedience to moral precepts; yet, without making any comparison at all between them, and consequently without determining which is to have the preference, the nature of the thing abundantly shows all notions of that kind to be utterly subversive of true religion; as they are, moreover, contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture; and likewise to the most express particular declarations of it, that nothing can render us accepted of God without moral virtue*.'

"And to the same purpose, in his sermon, preached before the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,' in February, 1738-9: 'Indeed, amongst creatures naturally formed for religion, yet so much under the power of imagination as men are, superstitition is an evil, which can never be out of sight. But even against this, true religion is a great security, and the only one. True religion takes up that place in the mind, which superstition would usurp, and so leaves little room for it; and likewise lays us under the strongest obligations to oppose it. On the contrary, the danger of superstition cannot but be increased by the prevalence of irreligion: and by its general prevalence, the evil will be unavoidable. For the common people, wanting a religion, will, of course,

* Part ii. chap. 1.

take up with almost any superstition which is thrown in their way; and in process of time, amidst the infinite vicissitudes of the political world, the leaders of parties will certainly be able to serve themselves of that superstition, whatever it be, which is getting ground: and will not fail to carry it to the utmost lengths their occasions require. The general nature of the thing shows this, and history and fact confirm it. It is, therefore, wonderful, those people who seem to think there is but one evil in life, that of superstition, should not see that atheism and profaneness must be the introduction of it.'

"And here it may be worth our while to observe, that the same excellent prelate, who by one set of men was suspected of superstition, on account of his Charge, has by another been represented as leaning to the opposite extreme of enthusiasm, on account of his two discourses on the Love of God. But both opinions are equally without foundation. He was neither superstitious, nor an enthusiast: his mind was much too strong, and his habits of thinking and reasoning much too strict and severe, to suffer him to descend to the weaknesses of either character. His piety was at once fervent and rational. When impressed with a generous concern for the declining cause of religion, he laboured to revive its dying interests; nothing, he judged, would be more effectual to that end, among creatures so much engaged with bodily things, and

so apt to be affected with whatever strongly solicits the senses, as men are, than a religion of such a frame as should in its exercise require the joint exertions of the body and the mind. On the other hand, when penetrated with the dignity and importance of the 'first and great commandment,' love to God, he set himself to enquire, what those movements of the heart are, which are due to Him, the Author and Cause of all things: he found, in the coolest way of consideration, that God is the natural object of the same affections of gratitude, reverence, fear, desire of approbatiou, trust, and dependence; the same affections in kind, though doubtless in a very disproportionate degree, which any one would feel from contemplating a perfect character in a creature, in which goodness, with wisdom and power, are supposed to be the predominant qualities, with the further circumstance, that this creature was also his governor and friend. This subject is manifestly a real one; there is nothing in it fanciful or unreasonable; this way of being affected towards God, is piety in the strictest sense; this is religion considered as a habit of mind; a religion suited to the nature and condition of man.

"From superstition to popery the transition is easy: no wonder, then, that in the progress of detraction, the simple imputation of the former of these, with which the attack on the character of our author was opened, should be followed by the

more aggravated imputation of the latter. Nothing can fairly be gathered in support of such a suggestion from the Charge, in which popery is barely mentioned, and occasionally only, and in a sentence or two: yet even there, it should be remarked, the bishop takes care to describe the peculiar observances required by it, 'some as in themselves wrong and superstitious, and others of them as being made subservient to the purposes of superstition.'" Bishop Halifax then cites various passages from his other writings which were strongly condemnatory of popery, one of which, in the sermon preached before the House of Lords, has been already quoted.

"One after act, however," he goes on to say, "has been alleged, which would effectually demolish all that we have urged in behalf of our prelate, were it true, as is pretended, that he died in the communion of the Church of Rome. Had a story of this sort been invented and propagated by papists, the wonder might have been less:

"Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ."

But to the reproach of Protestantism, the fabrication of this calumny, for such we shall find it, originated from among ourselves. It is pretty remarkable, that a circumstance so extraordinary should never have been divulged till the year 1767, fifteen years after the bishop's decease. At that time, Dr. Thomas Secker was archbishop of Canterbury; who, of all others, was the most likely to know

the truth or falsehood of the fact asserted, having been educated with our author in his early youth, and having lived in a constant habit of intimacy with him to the very time of his death. The good archbishop was not silent on this occasion: with a virtuous indignation he stood forth to protect the posthumous character of his friend; and in a public newspaper, under the signature of 'Misopseudes,' called upon his accuser to support what he had advanced, by whatever proofs he could. No proof, however, nor any thing like a proof, appeared in reply; and every man of sense and candour at that time was perfectly convinced, the assertion was entirely groundless."

The following history of the whole controversy is then given by Bishop Halifax, in a note to the second edition of the Preface.—"When the first edition of this Preface was published, I had in vain endeavoured to procure a sight of the papers, in which Bishop Butler was accused of having died a papist, and Archbishop Secker's replies to them; though I well remember to have read both when they first appeared in the public prints. But a learned professor in the University of Oxford has furnished me with the whole controversy, in its original form; a brief history of which it may not be unacceptable to offer here to the curious reader.

"The attack was opened in the year 1767, in an anonymous pamphlet, intitled, *The root of*

Protestant Errors examined; in which the author asserted, that, by an anecdote lately given him, that same prelate (who at the bottom of the page is called B——p of D——m,) 'is said to have died in the communion of a church, that makes use of saints, saints' days, and all the trumpery of saint worship.' When this remarkable fact, now first divulged, came to be generally known, it occasioned, as might be expected, no little alarm; and intelligence of it was no sooner conveyed to Archbishop Secker, than, in a short letter signed 'Misopseudes,' and printed in the *St. James's Chronicle*, of May 9, he called upon the writer to produce his authority for publishing so gross and scandalous a falsehood. To this challenge an immediate answer was returned, by the author of the pamphlet, who, now assuming the name of 'Phileleutheros,' informed 'Misopseudes,' through the channel of the same paper, that 'such anecdote had been given him; and that he was yet of opinion that there was nothing improbable in it, when it is considered that the same prelate put up the popish insignia of the cross in his chapel, when at Bristol; and in his last episcopal charge has squinted very much towards that superstition.' Here we find the accusation not only repeated, but supported by reasons, such as they are, of which it seemed necessary that some notice should be taken: nor did the archbishop conceive it unbecoming his own dignity to stand up on this

occasion, as the vindicator of innocence against the calumniator of the helpless dead. Accordingly, in a second letter in the same newspaper of May 23, and subscribed 'Misopseudes' as before; after reciting from Bishop Butler's sermon before the Lords, the very passage here printed, in the Preface, and observing, 'that there are, in the same sermon, declarations as strong as can be made against temporal punishments for heresy, schism, or even for idolatry;' his grace expresses himself thus:—'Now he (Bishop Butler) was universally esteemed throughout his life, as a man of strict piety and honesty, as well as uncommon abilities. He gave all the proofs, public and private, which his station led him to give, and they were decisive and daily, of his continuing to the last a sincere member of the Church of England. Nor had ever any of his acquaintance, or most intimate friends, nor have they to this day, the least doubt of it.' As to putting up a cross in his chapel, the archbishop frankly owns, that for himself he wishes he had not; and thinks, that in so doing the bishop did amiss. But then he asks, 'Can that be opposed, as any proof of popery, to all the evidence on the other side: or even to the single evidence of the abovementioned sermon? Most of our churches have crosses upon them: are they therefore popish churches? The Lutherans have more than crosses in theirs: are the Lutherans therefore papists?' And as to the Charge, 'no

papist,' his grace remarks, 'would have spoken as Bishop Butler there does, of the observances peculiar to Roman-catholics, some of which he expressly censures as wrong and superstitious, and others as made subservient to the purposes of superstition, and on these accounts abolished at the Reformation.'

"After the publication of this letter, 'Phileleutheros' replied in a short defence of his own conduct, but without producing any thing new in confirmation of what he had advanced. And here the controversy, so far as the two principals were concerned, seems to have ended. But the dispute was not suffered to die away quite so soon. For in the same year, and in the same newspaper of July 21, another letter appeared; in which the author not only contended that the cross in the episcopal chapel at Bristol, and the Charge to the clergy of Durham in 1751, amount to full proof of a strong attachment to the idolatrous communion of the Church of Rome, but with the reader's leave he would fain account for the 'bishop's tendency this way.' And this he attempted to do 'from the natural melancholy and gloominess of Dr. Butler's disposition; from his great fondness for the lives of Romish saints, and their books of mystic piety; from his drawing his notions of teaching men religion, not from the New Testament, but from philosophical and political opinions of his own; and above all, from his tran-

sition from a strict dissenter amongst the presbyterians to a rigid churchman, and his sudden and unexpected elevation to great wealth and dignity in the church.' The attack, thus renewed, excited the archbishop's attention a second time, and drew from him a fresh answer, subscribed also 'Misopseudes,' in the *St. James's Chronicle* of August 4. In this letter our excellent metropolitan, first of all obliquely hinting at the unfairness of sitting in judgment on the character of a man who had been dead fifteen years; and then reminding his correspondent, that 'full proof had been already published, that Bishop Butler abhorred popery as a vile corruption of Christianity, and that it might be proved, if needful, that he held the Pope to be Antichrist;' (to which decisive testimonies of undoubted aversion from the Romish church, another is also added in the postcript, his taking, when promoted to the see of Durham, for his domestic chaplain, Dr. Nathaniel Forster, who had published, not four years before, a sermon, intitled, *Popery destructive of the Evidence of Christianity;*) proceeds to observe,—'That the natural melancholy of the bishop's temper would rather have fixed him amongst his first friends, than prompted him to the change he made: that he read books of all sorts, as well as books of mystic piety, and knew how to pick the good that was in them out of the bad: that his opinions were exposed without reserve in his *Analogy* and his sermons, and if the doctrine

of either be popish or unscriptural, the learned world hath mistaken strangely in admiring both: that instead of being a strict Dissenter, he never was a communicant in any dissenting assembly; on the contrary, that he went occasionally, from his early years, to the established worship, and became a constant conformist to it when he was barely of age, and entered himself, in 1714, of Oriel College: that his elevation to great dignity in the church, far from being sudden or unexpected, was a gradual and natural rise, through a variety of preferments, and a period of thirty-two years: that, as bishop of Durham, he had very little authority beyond his brethren, and in ecclesiastical matters had none beyond them; a larger income than most of them he had; but this he employed, not, as was insinuated, in augmenting the pomp of worship in his cathedral, where, indeed, it is no greater than in others, but for the purposes of charity, and in the repairing of his houses.' After these remarks, the letter closes with the following words: 'Upon the whole, few accusations, so entirely groundless, have been so pertinaciously, I am unwilling to say, maliciously, carried on, as the present; and surely it is high time for the authors and abettors of it, in mere common prudence, to show some regard, if not to truth, at least to shame.'

"It only remains to be mentioned, that the above letters of Archbishop Secker had such an

effect on a writer, who signed himself in the *St. James's Chronicle,* of August 25, 'A Dissenting Minister,' that he declared it as his opinion, that 'the author of the pamphlet, called, *The Root of Protestant Errors examined,* and his friends, were obliged in candour, in justice, and in honour, to retract their charge, unless they could establish it on much better grounds than had hitherto appeared;' and he expressed his 'hopes that it would be understood, that the Dissenters in general had no hand in the accusation, and that it had only been the act of *two or three mistaken men.*' Another person, also, 'a foreigner by birth,' as he says of himself, who had been long an admirer of Bishop Butler, and had perused with great attention, all that had been written on both sides in the present controversy, confesses he had been 'wonderfully pleased with observing with what candour and temper, as well as clearness and solidity, he was vindicated from the aspersions laid against him.' All the adversaries of our prelate, however, had not the virtue or sense to be thus convinced; some of whom still continued, under the signatures of 'Old Martin,' 'Latimer,' 'An Impartial Protestant,' 'Paulinus,' 'Misonothos,' to repeat their confuted falsehoods in the public prints; as if the curse of calumniators had fallen upon them, and their memory, by being long a traitor to truth, had taken at last a severe revenge, and compelled them to credit their own lie. The first

of the gentlemen, ' Old Martin,' who dates from Newcastle, May 29, from the rancour and malignity with which his letter abounds, and from the particular virulence he discovers towards the characters of Bishop Butler and his defender, I conjecture to be no other than the very person who had already figured in this dispute, so early as the year 1752."

CHAPTER VIII.

Archdeacon Blackburne, the author of the *Serious Inquiry*. — Notice of him.—His son's account of the controversy.—Opening of the *Serious Inquiry*.—Isaac Walton of Hooker and the Pope.—Lindsey probably engaged in the controversy.—Notice of him.—Robert Hall's remarks upon him.—*Quarterly Review* upon Belsham's *Life of Lindsey*.—Robert Hall's notice of ditto.—Lindsey's portrait of Butler erroneous.—Bishop Halifax's reasons for vindicating Butler.—Halifax himself accused of popery.—No eminent character has ever escaped calumny. — Horace Walpole's remark of Secker.—Ditto of Butler.—His unfairness to the Bishops.—Secker on slander.—Butler on talkativeness.

SUCH is Bishop Halifax's account of the controversy, in which there is no direct evidence to decide, whether or not he was acquainted with the name of the anonymous author of the original attack upon the Charge, in 1752*. This point, however, is no longer one of uncertainty, as the

* From an observation of Dr. Kippis, indeed, it appears that Bishop Halifax was ignorant of the source from whence the aspersions upon Bishop Butler had arisen. "*The calumny*," he said, "*is no longer worth noticing, else we know more than Halifax about it.*" The unhappy connexion of Dr. Kippis with the Unitarian heresy, would render it unlikely that any movements of importance, amongst those who were, either directly or indirectly, connected with that school, should escape his knowledge. He was probably aware of the part which both Archdeacon Blackburne and Theophilus Lindsey took in the attacks upon Bishop Butler.

authorship of the *Serious Inquiry* was admitted by Archdeacon Blackburne; and the reason which led him to commence the attack, is stated by his son, in his account of the life and writings of his father. Before we introduce the extracts from this work, which relate to the subject, however, it may be desirable to inform the reader, who may not be acquainted with Archdeacon Blackburne, that this restless polemic was born at Richmond, in Yorkshire, in 1705, and educated at Cambridge, at Catherine Hall; that in 1739, he became curate of Richmond, his native town; and in 1750, was advanced to the archdeaconry of Cleveland, by Archbishop Hutton. He is reported, at this period, to have entertained scruples about subscription; chiefly, perhaps, on account of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Articles; but his scruples were surmounted upon the perusal of Dr. Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity,* and some arguments in MS., prepared by Dr. Law, bishop of Carlisle.

Amongst his various controversial writings, he supported the views of Bishop Law, in his *Theory of Religion,* upon the unconscious state of the soul of the departed, prior to the resurrection—published remarks on some passages of Warburton's *Divine Legation,* and wrote a general view of the controversy. His most popular work was, *The Confessional; or a full and free Inquiry into the Right, Utility, Edification, and Success of esta-*

blishing systematical Confessions of Faith and Doctrine in Protestant Churches.

"About the same time that the *Confessional* was published," remarks the author of a brief sketch of Blackburne, in the *Lives of Eminent Englishmen*, "a vacancy happened in the congregation of dissenters, at the Old Jewry, London, by the death of their pastor, Dr. Chandler. From the sentiments which Blackburne was known to entertain, it was thought by some persons, that he might be induced to leave the Established Church, and accept an invitation to take charge of this society. The proposal was encouraged by some of the friends of the archdeacon, and he was consulted; but he declined the offer. Blackburne's opposition to the Established Church, and his continuance in it, have been considered an anomaly not easily to be explained. He died on the 7th of August, in 1787, in the eighty-third year of his age."

The following is the account given by the archdeacon's son, of the controversy which arose out of the Durham Charge*:—"In the latter end of the same year, Mr. Blackburne paying a visit to a gentleman, his parishioner, found him reading a Charge delivered by Dr. Joseph Butler, bishop

* Vide "The Works, Theological and Mscellaneous, of Francis Blackburne, M.A., late rector of Richmond, and archdeacon of Cleveland; with some account of the life and writings of the Author by himself, completed by his son, Francis Blackburne, LL.B."—Cambridge and London. 1804.

of Durham, to the clergy of his diocese, at his primary visitation, in 1751. The gentleman informed him, that it had just been put into his hands by a Roman-catholic neighbour, who exulted not a little, that the sentiments of so eminent a prelate, were so conformable to the regard paid by the papists to the ceremonies of the church of Rome. Mr. B., much surprised at this information, and no less at some particular passages in the bishop's discourse, pointed out to him by his friend, took the first opportunity to procure a copy of this remarkable Charge, in which he found some doctrines so diametrically opposite to the principles on which the Protestant reformation was founded and supported, that he thought they deserved to be exposed and censured, to prevent the mischief they might do under the sanction of so considerable a name.

"The remarks upon this pastoral discourse being ready for publication, were communicated to a learned friend, upon whose judgment the author was disposed to rely, before he finally determined to commit them to the press. Part of an answer to the letter Mr. B. wrote to his friend on this occasion, he had leave to prefix to his pamphlet. In another part, which is suppressed, the gentleman approved, indeed, of the contents of his performance, but strenuously dissuaded him from publishing it, on the consideration of the high character of the bishop for piety and learning, of the difficulty

he would find of keeping himself undiscovered, and the bar which the freedom of his remarks would prove (should he be known to be the author) to his pretensions to future preferment. These remonstrances made no impression upon Mr. B. His opinion was, that the more exalted the station and character of the writer, the greater was likewise the necessity of obviating his influence, when it was employed to propagate erroneous principles, especially of so great importance in matters of religion; and that, when truth and reason demanded his testimony, and the public might be benefitted by it, he should never have any concern for the consequences to himself. The book was accordingly published with the title of *A Serious Inquiry into the use and importance of External Religion, &c.* It remained for some time uncertain to whom this obnoxious pamphlet should be ascribed. It seems, however, that Archbishop Secker, soon after his promotion to Canterbury, by the diligence of his emissaries, and the indiscretion of the printer, found out who was the reputed offender against his bosom friend, Bishop Butler; and his resentment was aggravated by the consideration, that these remarks might be alleged as some confirmation, of the suspicion entertained by certain persons, that the bishop, whose decease happened soon after the publication of this pamphlet, died in communion with the church of Rome.

"Of this discovery Mr. B. was totally ignorant till the year 1766, when the first edition of the *Confessional* came out. Dr. Secker had been promoted to the see of Canterbury in the year 1757, or 1758, without the least diminution of his anxious vigilance for the honour and interest of the Church of England. The author of the *Confessional* was accordingly soon discovered, and his exclusion from future preferment cordially announced by the archbishop, at his own table; as well on account of this second instance of his delinquency, as of the enormity of his strictures on Bishop Butler's charge. Mr. Richard Baron, a dissenting minister, well known to the public in his day, was perfectly apprized of the archbishop's principles and character, and kept his eye upon his grace's manœuvres, with as much attention and as much opposition, as his grace gave to the attempts of heretical pravity. The open declaration made by his grace against Mr. B., among his guests, as above-mentioned, could not long be concealed from Mr. Baron, whose aversion to the archbishop's principles and conduct, as much, perhaps, as the consideration of the merit of the work, occasioned the *Serious Inquiry* to be inserted in the fourth volume of a collection of tracts, entitled *The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy shaken*, and there ascribed to Mr. B., to his great surprise, as he did not personally know Mr. Baron, nor had any connexion with him, by correspondence or otherwise.

"Thus was the prognostic of Mr. B.'s friend, of the consequences of this publication, fulfilled; any prospect the author might have had of further preferment in the church, under episcopal patronage, being effectually intercepted by this solemn denunciation of Archbishop Secker."—Vol. i., pp. 16—19.

The *Serious Inquiry** occupies eighty pages of the first volume of Blackburne's works, and commences thus:—"My lord, when I first perused your lordship's charge, I could not but think some passages in it, particularly in the 13th and the three following pages, liable to many just objections.

"My conjecture was, that the papists, ever watchful to countenance their superstition, by pointing out the remnants of it yet unpurged out of our church, and to make their advantage of the concessions of some of our unwary divines, would certainly lay their finger upon what your lordship has advanced concerning the importance of *external religion.*

"Still, this was but my conjecture, which alone would never have afforded me sufficient reasons for troubling your lordship or the public on any occasion; but having now the misfortune to find it verified by a strenuous recommendation of this

* Such portions of the *Serious Inquiry*, as were most worthy of notice, will be found in the notes of Bishop Halifax, appended to the Durham Charge.

very charge from a zealous and bigoted papist, to a worthy Protestant gentleman, (both in my own neighbourhood,) your lordship, and the reasonable part of the public, will, I trust, excuse me for dropping all other respects, but what are due to my religion and allegiance, till I have freely declared my sentiments of the dangerous tendency of your lordship's doctrine contained in the passages above referred to."

The reader, perhaps, by the ground of offence here taken, may be reminded of the charge which might, upon a similar ground, have been urged against that invincible champion of the Church of England, *Richard Hooker*. The argument assumed, is, that *because a zealous and bigoted papist* recommends a work to a *Protestant gentleman, therefore the doctrine* contained in it *must be* of dangerous tendency.

This most illogical inference, if it be permitted to attach *a suspicion* of popery to Butler, because his charge was perused and commended by *a Romish layman*, may be regarded as *demonstrating* the popish predilections of Hooker, because his celebrated books of ecclesiastical polity were perused and commended by *the Romish cardinals, and the pope!*

Isaac Walton thus relates the incident alluded to:—"These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself into foreign nations; and I have been

told, more than forty years past, that Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton, (both Englishmen, and in Italy when Mr. Hooker's four books were first printed,) meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author, that both the reformed and the learned of their own church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for; and after reading of them, boasted to the pope, (which then was Clement the Eighth,) that though he had lately said he never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had writ four such books of laws, and church polity, and in a style that expressed so grave and such humble majesty, with clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him: and this begot in the pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin; which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book: at the conclusion of which, the pope spake to this purpose: 'There is no learning that this man hath not searched into, nothing too hard for his understanding; this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this,

they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning.'" Had Archdeacon Blackburne lived in the days of the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, it is not difficult to imagine with what a burst of indignation the pugnacious impugner of systems and discipline, would have attacked the meek and patient Hooker, on account of this eulogium, upon his writings, from his holiness at Rome!

The *Serious Inquiry*, then, having been avowed as the production of Archdeacon Blackburne, there are circumstances connected with it, which, although they may not establish the fact, will shed considerable light upon the path of inquiry, in reference to the writers of the letters, which were answered by Archbishop Secker, in 1767.

In the appendix to the account of the life and writings of Blackburne, the part he took in the revival of the controversy, is thus alluded to, in connexion with some remarks upon Bishop Halifax's vindication of Butler:—"Dr. Halifax had, on a certain occasion, in 1772, avowed the greatest respect for the character and abilities of Archdeacon Blackburne, and the highest opinion, both of his sincerity and services in the cause of truth.

"We now find him attacking the author of the *Serious Inquiry*, with very little either of openness or candour, and fastening upon him the credit or discredit of a certain letter, from Newcastle, signed 'Old Martin,' in 1767, on no other ground what-

ever, than that of its *rancour, malignity,* and *virulence.* In justice to the memory of Mr. Blackburne, we think it right to state, that the first imputation on the character of Bishop Butler seems to have originated with the author of the *Root of Protestant Errors examined,* early in the year 1767; as the controversy in the public prints was opened by Archbishop Secker, under the title of 'Misopseudes,' May 9th of that year; who entering the lists of an anonymous dispute in a public newspaper, could not expect either unqualified credit to his assertions, or implicit deference to his authority.

"All the part which, *with any certainty,* we can assign to Mr. Blackburne, in this affair, consists of *one or two letters,* in which the writer, considering it as a question too late to be decided by proofs, in what communion Bishop Butler might have died, expressly attacks him for laying much too great a stress upon natural religion; asserts, with very good grounds for his opinion, that the bishop's forte did not lie in Scriptural theology: and finally asks, of what signification it was, that Laud, Wake, and Butler, did not make a *formal* profession of popery, when each of them had left such glaring proofs of their being possessed with the genuine *spirit* of it.

"That the impression, however, remained on the minds of some persons of high rank in the church, is indisputable. An occasional correspon-

dent of Archdeacon Blackburne's, after speaking of other strange matters of a theological kind, which had lately occurred, goes on thus of his own suggestion:—'But every thing and every body surprises one. A bishop told me, Butler died a papist; which, though I do not believe; yet, I should as little have believed, a week before he delivered it, that he could compose the Charge printed, as given at Durham; though, I thought not quite of his lordship, as many did; having seen long before at Bristol some proofs of his altitudinarianism, and of something else at Rochester, which prepared me in a degree for this last *.'"

It is then stated in a note, that this correspondent was Dr. Salter, of the Charter-house.

Dr. Salter, revised and carried through the press, seven of the Letters of Ben Mordecai †, written by the Rev. Henry Taylor, of Crawley, Hants, who was a supporter of the Arian heresy. It appears, indeed, that there is no direct evidence, that the calumnies against Bishop Butler, either originated with, or were diffused by, any other parties than such as were, openly or covertly, connected with the abettors of the Arian and Socinian heresies.

Now, while there is *no denial*, by Francis Blackburne, that his father wrote the very pamphlet in

* Vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

† Vide *Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary*, vol. xxvii. p. 83

question, there is *a direct assertion that he did write one or two of the offensive letters which appeared at this period.* But, to proceed with the inquiry in another direction. The eldest daughter of Archdeacon Blackburne was married to Dr. Disney, a unitarian minister. His step-daughter, also, became the wife of Theophilus Lindsey; of whom, it is observed in the work already cited, "The friendship between Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Blackburne was not nearly so much cemented by this family connexion, as by a similarity of sentiments in the cause of Christian liberty, and their aversion to ecclesiastical impositions in matters of conscience. *In the warfare on these subjects they went hand in hand; and when Mr. Lindsey left Yorkshire and settled in London, Mr. B. used to say, 'he had lost his right arm.'*"

Theophilus Lindsey was a clergyman of the Church of England, and fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; who, afterwards, in 1773, seceded from the church, and became the minister of the unitarian chapel, in Essex-street, London. On the revival of the controversy, however, about Bishop Butler, he was in residence upon his living of Catterick in Yorkshire, for which he had exchanged a benefice in Dorsetshire, that he might be near Archdeacon Blackburne, who resided in that neighbourhood. He was, therefore, then in his vicinity, and, by the admission of Francis Blackburne, the biographer of his father,

ready to unite with him in his attacks upon Butler. And, as it is plainly declared that Blackburne wrote *at least one or two letters on this occasion,* it is probable, upon the grounds already stated, *that other letters,* or "*The Root of Protestant Errors examined,*" *might have been written by Lindsey.* The Dissenters were anxious to disclaim participation in the controversy; and, 'A Dissenting Minister,' who was convinced by Secker's letters, of the groundless calumnies against the bishop of Durham, expressed his "hope, that it would be understood, that the Dissenters in general had no hand in the accusation, and that *it had only been the act of two or three mistaken men.*"

It must be remembered, that in the course of the controversy, an attempt was made, in the letter of July 21st, "*to account for*" Butler's "*tendency*" to popery, "*from the natural melancholy and gloominess of his disposition, from his great fondness for the lives of Romish saints, and their books of mystic piety,*" &c.

Now, in a work, intitled *Vindiciæ Priestleianæ,* by Theophilus Lindsey, A.M., fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, occasioned by a letter addressed to Dr. Priestley, which was ascribed to Dr. Horne, when dean of Canterbury, there is the following notice of Butler:—"Of Bishop Butler I had some little personal knowledge not long before he was raised to the see of Durham; but had an opportunity of knowing more of his character from

a correspondence which he had long kept up with a friend whom he highly respected, and to whom he communicated himself very freely. *He had great piety, but it was of a gloomy cast, and tending to superstition; which he might have caught, from reading the lives of Romish saints, some of which I was the means of handing to him.*" It cannot but strike those who compare the terms which Lindsey here employs, to describe the disposition and habits of Butler, with the language cited from the letter alluded to, that Lindsey was probably either himself the writer of that letter, or that he suggested the matter it contained; and that he was consequently, *in fact, one of the "two or three mistaken men,"* referred to by 'A Dissenting Minister.' Neither can it fail to impress the reader, that this probability is yet further strengthened by Lindsey's connexion with Archbishop Blackburne, and the language employed by the son to denote his participation in the controversial propensity of his father-in-law.

The spirit of "*particular virulence,*" too, which is reported to have been manifested toward the character of Butler, and his defender Archbishop Secker, was more in keeping with what might have been expected from one who had fallen into the awful and pestilent heresy of unitarianism, than from those dissenters, who, while they differed from these prelates upon the outward forms of religion, might hold the orthodox view of the essential doc-

trines of the Gospel; and, who were therefore, more likely, than an apostate from the faith he had professed, to maintain their differences of opinion, upon minor points, in charity. For it must not be forgotten, that, although Lindsey had not at this time relinquished his preferment in the Church of England, *he had renounced his belief in the Trinity*. Upon his renewed subscription to the thirty-nine articles, on the occasion of his removal into Yorkshire, even his Socinian biographer, Mr. Belsham remarks,—"It may appear singular, that Mr. Lindsey could submit to that renewed subscription which was requisite in order to his induction to a new living. And the case," he adds, "appears the more extraordinary, as many clergymen, who, in consequence of a revolution in their opinions, had become dissatisfied with the articles, would never, for the sake of obtaining the most valuable preferment, subscribe them again; though, while they were permitted to remain unmolested, they did not perceive it to be their duty to retire from the church."—P. 17.

This led to the following observations from the powerful pen of Robert Hall, in his *Review of Belsham's Memoirs of Lindsey*:—"The extreme want of candour and sincerity evinced by such conduct, is very unsatisfactorily apologised for by Mr. Lindsey, and is very gently reproved by Mr. Belsham." "How far he was influenced by mercenary considerations in retaining his station

under such circumstances, it is impossible to say; but that he was guilty of much collusion and impious prevarication in this affair, cannot be reasonably doubted*." It was suggested by Dr. Priestley, when Lindsey was subsequently deliberating upon the propriety of resigning his benefice, that he might continue to officiate in it, by making such changes in the public offices of the church as would meet the views he had imbibed;—a suggestion, it must be admitted, which savoured more of worldly policy, than either of Christian morals or common honesty.

The circumstance which led to his secession, is thus related by Mr. Hall:—"In this situation he continued ten years, till a dangerous fit of sickness roused his conscience, and rendered his continuance in the discharge of his ecclesiastical functions insupportable. We are far from wishing to depreciate the value of that sacrifice, which Mr. Lindsey tardily and reluctantly made to the claims of conscience; but we cannot conceal our surprise, that a measure to which he was forced, in order to quell the apprehensions he most justly entertained of the displeasure of the Almighty, after a system of prevarication persisted in for upwards of ten years, should be extolled in terms which can only be applied with propriety to in-

* Vide "The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M. Published under the superintendence of Olinthus Gregory, LL.D., F.R.A.S., &c." Vol. iv., pp. 193, 194.

stances of heroic virtue. To prefer the surrender of certain worldly advantages, to a perseverance in conduct highly criminal, evinces a mind not utterly insensible to the force of moral obligation; and nothing more. Our admiration must be reserved for a higher species of excellence; for an adherence to the side of delicacy and honour, where many plausibilities might be urged to the contrary; or a resolute pursuit of the path of virtue, when it is obstructed by the last extremities of evil*."

When we hear that Archdeacon Blackburne adhered to his preferment in the Church of England, although he was dissatisfied with her constitution, and, in conjunction with his Socinian coadjutor, wrote against her formularies; and when we are told that Mr. Lindsey, for ten whole years, publicly offered up in the house of God, prayers to Jesus Christ, as the Divine Saviour of the world, which, in the pride and vanity of his mind, he believed to be idolatrous; and then, contemplate them uniting to calumniate and traduce a prelate like Bishop Butler, so conspicuous for his conscientious and jealous adherence to what was "pure, and lovely, and of good report," we are *constrained* to be reminded of our Lord's words, in his sermon on the Mount:—"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine

* Vol. iv. p. 196.

own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."—Matthew, vii. 3—5.

In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, for December, 1812, (vol. viii. p. 432,) upon *Belsham's Memoirs of Mr. Lindsey*, is the following allusion to the hostile spirit which the Socinian body have always manifested towards the character and writings of Bishop Butler:—"From his death to the present hour this great prelate has been libelled by the *party*, not only for his deep and awful views of religion, but because *he left their camp when the plague was beginning to spread.*"

It is a painful as well as a remarkable circumstance, that the larger number of the old Presbyterian congregations in England, have, since the days of Butler, lapsed into Arianism or Socinianism. The suit and appeals in the case of Lady Hewley's charity, have established this fact beyond the power of calling it in question. Possessing neither an authorized confession of faith, nor a legitimate tribunal, as in the Kirk of Scotland, to which they might refer the erroneous statements of their teachers; nor a liturgital service embodying the essential verities of Scripture, with which they might compare them; the Presby-

terians, *in this country*, were left to be acted upon as the uncontrolled and vacillating views of their instructors might influence their pulpit addresses. And the melancholy result has been, a general defection from the vital doctrines of the Gospel; involving as wide a departure from the principles of the established Presbyterian Church of Scotland, as from those of the established Episcopal Church of England*.

The lamentable defection is in part accounted for by Robert Hall, when he says, "The utmost that the efforts of Lindsey, Priestley, and others, effected, was to convert the teachers of Arianism among the Dissenters into Socinians, who exerted themselves with tolerable success to disseminate their principles in their respective congregations; so that the boasted triumphs of Socinianism consisted in sinking that section of the dissenting body, who had already departed from the faith, a few degrees lower in the gulf of error†." Of Socinianism, generally, and its effects, this masterly writer thus speaks:—"Their converts are merely

* "He confessed," says Mr. Wilberforce, alluding to a conversation he held with an eminent Dissenting minister, "that not one in twenty of Doddridge's pupils but who turned either Socinian, or tending that way; (he himself strictly orthodox;) and he said, that all the old Presbyterian places of worship were become Socinian congregations."—*Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 24. What an argument is this for a sound scriptural creed! And how should it lead us to thank God for the articles, liturgy and homilies of the Church of England!

† Vol. iv. p. 200.

proselyted to an opinion, without pretending to be converted to God; and, if they are not as much injured by the change as the proselytes made by the Pharisees of old, it must be ascribed to causes totally distinct from the superior excellence of the tenets which they have embraced. They have been taught to discard the worship of Christ, and to abjure all dependence upon him as a Saviour—an admirable preparation, it must be confessed, for a devout and holy life!' Let the abettors of those doctrines produce, if they can, a single instance of a person, who, in consequence of embracing them, was reclaimed from a vicious to a virtuous life, from a neglect of serious piety to an exemplary discharge of its obligations and duties; and their success, to whatever extent it has been realised, would suggest an argument in their favour deserving some attention. But, who is ignorant that among the endless fluctuations of fashions and opinions recorded in the annals of religion, the most absurd and pernicious systems have flourished for a while; and that Arianism, for instance, which these men profess to abhor almost as much as orthodoxy, prevailed to such a degree, for years, as to threaten to become the prevalent religion of Christendom*? Socinianism can boast but few converts compared with infidelity; in England, at least, they have gone hand

* See the second book of Sulpicius Severus, c. 35. "Tum hæresis Arii prorupit *totumque orbem* invecto errore turbaverat."

in hand, and their progress has been simultaneous, derived from the same causes, and productive of the same effects*."

Upon the guilt and dishonesty of holding principles so contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England, and yet remaining to minister at her altars, he thus observes:—"The avowal of Socinianism among Dissenters has rarely been followed by worldly privations; and in the Church of England, where such consequences must have ensued, it has not been made. Except in the instances of Lindsey, Jebb, and very few others, the converts to Socinianism have stooped to the meanest prevarication, and the most sacrilegious hypocrisy, rather than sacrifice their worldly emolument and honours. Compare this with the conduct of the Puritans, in the reign of Charles the Second, who, though the points at issue were comparatively trifling and insignificant, chose, to the number of two thousand, to encounter every species of obloquy and distress, rather than do violence to their conscience; and learn the difference between the heroism inspired by Christian principle, and the base and pusillanimous spirit of heresy†."

He concludes his remarks upon the general system, by adding,—"The system of Socinus is a cold negation: the whole secret of it consists in thinking meanly of Christ; and what tendency such

* Vol. iv. p. 206. † Ibid. p. 208.

a mode of thinking can have to inspire elevation or ardour, it is not easy to comprehend. If it is calculated to relieve the conscience of a weight which the principles of orthodoxy render it difficult to shake off, without complying with the conditions of the Gospel, infidelity answers the same purpose still better, and possesses a still higher degree of simplicity, meaning by that term what Socinians generally mean—the total absence of mystery."

In allusion to the opposition of Mr. Belsham, as the organ of Socinianism, to the impugners of the doctrines of necessity and fatalism, he remarks, "The most celebrated metaphysicians and reasoners, in every age and in every country,—Malebranche, Cudworth, Clarke, Butler, Chillingworth, Reid, and innumerable others, who have avowed the strongest apprehensions of the immoral tendency of the doctrine of fatalism, or, as it has been styled, of philosophical necessity, are consigned by a writer who has not capacity sufficient to appreciate their powers, much less to rival their productions, to the reproach of childish simplicity and ignorance; and this for no other reason than their presuming to differ in opinion from Lindsey, Priestley, Hartley, and Jebb*!"

The hostility of writers of the Unitarian school to Butler, may be accounted for from the fact, that his works are calculated to subvert the doc-

* Vol. iv. p. 218.

trines of the disciples of Socinus, and to erect an effectual barrier against the encroachments of their system. The general arguments of his *Analogy*, of his *Theory of Morals*, and his sermon upon *The Ignorance of Man*, are as contrary to the principles of Priestley, Lindsey, and Belsham, as they are to the avowed infidelity of Hobbes, and Bolingbroke and Hume.

It need only be added, that nothing can be less like the original than the portrait drawn by Mr. Lindsey, of Bishop Butler and his mental habits. Instead of being of a gloomy and melancholy cast, he was of a quiet and cheerful temper, and of a most affectionate disposition; which not only endeared him to all who had the happiness of enjoying an intimate acquaintance with him, but rendered him a highly instructive and delightful companion. This impression, which has been uniformly received by his surviving relatives, is distinctly corroborated by Mrs. Catherine Talbot, in a letter written to her friend Mrs. Carter, during his last illness, and which will appear in its proper place.

The controversy will be dismissed by another quotation from Bishop Halifax, which states his reasons for entering upon the defence of the author of the *Analogy*:—"Out of pure respect for the virtues of a man, whom I had never the happiness of knowing, or even of seeing, but from whose writings I have received the greatest be-

nefit and illumination, and which I have reason to be thankful to Providence for having early thrown in my way, I have adventured, in what I have now offered to the public, to step forth in his defence, and to vindicate his honest fame from the attacks of those, who with the vain hope of bringing down superior characters to their own level, are for ever at work in detracting from their just praise. For the literary reputation of Bishop Butler, it stands too high in the opinion of the world, to incur the danger of any diminution; but this, in truth, is the least of his excellencies. He was more than a good writer, he was a good man; and what is an addition even to this eulogy, he was a sincere Christian. His whole study was directed to the knowledge and practice of sound morality and true religion: these he adorned by his life, and has recommended to future ages in his writings; in which, if my judgment be of any avail, he has done essential service to both, as much perhaps as any single person, since the extraordinary gifts of 'the word of wisdom, and the word of knowledge*,' have been withdrawn."

Little could the bishop of Gloucester have imagined, that, fifty years after his manly and satisfactory vindication of Butler, he himself would have had an assailant similar to those, who directed their attacks against the Protestantism of the bishop of Durham. "It was a curious cir-

* 1 Cor. xii. 8.

cumstance," remarks a niece of the former, who is connected by marriage with the family of Butler, in a letter addressed to the writer of this *Memoir* in 1835*, "that took place about four years ago, when Bishop Halifax was accused in some publication of having favoured Popery, who had himself written a preface to the works of Bishop Butler, with the object principally in view of clearing his memory from the same charge."

It would be difficult to point out any distinguished individual, who, throughout his career, entirely escaped the envenomed shafts of calumny†.

* Mrs. Hall, of Harpsden Court, near Henley.

† The late Mr. Wilberforce, whose affectionate disposition and cheerful piety peculiarly endeared him to those who were honoured with his acquaintance; and whose enlarged benevolence and unwearied philanthropy, will ensure for his memory the love and veneration of the latest posterity, did not escape the envenomed shafts of slander. During the debates, in 1816, upon the Slave Registry Bill, his biographers state, that, "scandalous insinuations were multiplied, and every day produced a new set of slanders of such an aggravated kind, that, 'if they had been true,' he told the House of Commons, 'nothing but a special Providence could have prevented my being hanged full thirty years ago.'"—Vol. iv. p. 283. In allusion to a letter of Cobbett's, too, in 1820, of which he speaks as "*very clever, but very mischievous, and full of falsehoods*," he adds, "What a lesson it is to a man not to set his heart on low popularity, when, after forty years' disinterested public service, I am believed to be a perfect rascal!"—Vol. v. p. 58. It was well remarked, by a college friend, who was visiting the sons of this great and admirable man, "I only wish that those who abuse your father's principles, could come down here and see how he lives."—Vol. v. p. 103.

An age of infidelity is always an age of slander, of which the writings of the period which followed the days of Butler furnish many painful examples. Even Horace Walpole, (earl of Orford,) anxious as he was to be regarded as the leader of fine taste and accurate criticism, displayed the bad taste of delighting to traduce the Heads of the Church of England. He represented Archbishop Secker as having been the president of an atheistical club, but he did not direct his satire so offensively against Butler. The observation he made upon the latter, when he was charging some of the bishops with obsequiously bowing to temporal power, in reference to the Regency Bill of 1751, was of a harmless character:—"The bishop of Durham had been wafted to that see in a cloud of metaphysics, and remained absorbed in it*."

In censuring the conduct of the episcopal bench for allowing this measure to pass, (without opposing the clause to annul any marriage which the king might contract during his minority, unless with the consent of the regent and the majority of the council,) Lord Orford does not state, as was the fact, that the bill was not printed until it had been hurried through the House of Peers; that the bishop of Worcester moved that it should be printed, in order that it might be reconsidered, but could not carry his proposition; that it was

* Vide *Memoirs of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George II.*

brought in on the 7th of May, read a second time on the 8th, committed on the 10th, and sent down to the House of Commons on the 13th*. But the unfairness of this facetious nobleman, in matters which relate to religion and the bishops, is too well known to require further notice.

Sir James Mackintosh had the remark of Lord Orford, respecting Bishop Butler, in view, when, in allusion to the anxiety of George II., to confer distinction upon those whom his exemplary consort honoured, he said, "The king was desirous of inserting the name of *the queen's metaphysical favourite* (Bishop Butler), in the Regency Bill of seventeen hundred and fifty-one."

There is a passage in one of Secker's sermons, upon the subject of slander, the justice of which will be universally admitted:—"One raises a story to divert the company at the expense of a person, who, it may be, hath not given the least ground for it. A second catches what he hears; perhaps believes it too hastily; perhaps does not believe, but tells it notwithstanding. A third fills it up with plausible circumstances; the general voice repeats it; and then, what every body says passes for certain. If the composition of it be seasoned with a small spice of wit, it is universally relished, but there is almost always at the bottom of this

* Vide *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 1751, p. 998, and *Dodington's Diary*.

practice, a latent malignity of heart against our fellow creatures."—Vol. i. p. 153.

Bishop Butler, in his admirable sermon on the Government of the Tongue, has so accurately traced this evil habit to its source; and has so clearly unfolded the process by which it is sometimes conducted, that the following extract from the discourse in question cannot be deemed out of place. Of "TALKATIVENESS,"—that is, "a disposition to be talking, abstracted from the consideration of what is to be said; with very little or no regard to, or thought of, doing either good or harm,"—he observes;

"It is perhaps true, that they who are addicted to this folly, would choose to confine themselves to trifles and indifferent subjects, and so intend only to be guilty of being impertinent: but as they cannot go on for ever talking of nothing, as common matters will not afford a sufficient fund for perpetual continued discourse: when subjects of this kind are exhausted, they will go on to defamation, scandal, divulging of secrets, their own secrets, as well as those of others; anything rather than be silent. They are plainly hurried on, in the heat of their talk, to say quite different things from what they first intended, and which they afterwards wish unsaid; or improper things, which they had no other end in saying, but only to afford employment to their tongue. And if these people expect to be heard and regarded, for there are

some content merely with talking, they will invent to engage your attention: and, when they have heard the least imperfect hint of an affair, they will out of their own head, add the circumstances of time and place, and other matters to make out their story, and give the appearance of probability to it: not that they have any concern about being believed, otherwise than as a means of being heard.

"And further, when persons, who indulge themselves in these liberties of the tongue, are in any degree offended with another, as little disgusts and misunderstandings will be, they allow themselves to defame and revile such an one without any moderation or bounds; though the offence is so very slight, that they themselves would not do, nor perhaps wish him an injury in any other way. And in this case, the scandal and revilings are chiefly owing to talkativeness, and not bridling their tongue; and so come under our present subject. The least occasion in the world, will make the humour break out, in this particular way, or in another. It is like a torrent, which must and will flow; but the least thing imaginable will, first of all, give it either this or another direction, turn it into this or that channel: or like a fire; the nature of which, when in a heap of combustible matter, is to spread and lay waste all around; but any one of a thousand little accidents will occasion it to break out first, either in this or another particular part."

CHAPTER IX.

Butler at Hampstead.—Painted glass in his mansion there.—Some of it presented to Oriel College.—Secker often at Hampstead with Butler.—Miss Talbot's allusion to their frequent intercourse.—Bishop Benson's ditto.—Alterations at the Castle at Durham, and Auckland.—Munificent subscription to the County Hospital.—Butler's habits at Durham.—His view of ecclesiastical revenues.—Anecdote of his liberality.—Ditto of his simple mode of living, when alone.—His rule for disposing of preferment.—Did not prefer his relatives as such.—Reverend Jonathan Butler.—Remark of his nephew, John Butler.—Butler's delicacy of feeling in his memoranda book.—His diligence in investigating character.—His fondness for music.

DURING the latter years of Butler's life he resided, when attending his duties in parliament, at Hampstead, in a mansion which he purchased and retained until his decease. This house was formerly the residence of Sir Henry Vane, by whom it was erected, and who was taken from thence to the Tower, prior to his execution on the 14th of June, 1662. The bishop ornamented some of the windows of his mansion with a considerable quantity of painted glass, consisting of various scriptural subjects, some of which were beautifully executed, with inscriptions in old English characters, of the date of 1571. There were figures of the apostles, with their names in Latin in small oblong squares, which were re-

ported by local tradition to have been presented to him by the Pope: a tradition which might possibly have grown out of the attack upon the Durham Charge, and have been employed as another link in the chain to prove Bishop Butler a papist! There were also modern pieces of inferior workmanship, of a small oval shape; and one circular painting representing St. Paul seated, and surrounded by rich gothic sculpture, circumscribed, "Sigillum Com'une Decani et Capituli Eccl'ie Pauli London."

In the upper story of the house was a very large apartment, since divided into several smaller ones, and extending along the whole floor of the edifice, which was used as the bishop's library. Many of the apartments were hung with tapestry. Although this house has been considerably altered since the author of the *Analogy* resided in it, it retains enough of its original character to render it an interesting object. The back part, entrance hall, and carved staircase, for many years had undergone no material change. The garden was laid out in the ancient style, with an avenue of elms at the termination of it. An adjoining house, which has been entirely modernized, was formed out of the offices attached to the bishop's mansion; and this, too, contained painted glass in several of the windows, being a continuation of the Scriptural series alluded to.

Such was Butler's mansion, according to the

description given of it, in Park's *Hampstead.* Neither does its present appearance materially differ from what it was at the period of the publication of that work. The only alteration, which strikes the eye, is occasioned by the conversion, about ten years ago, of four small rooms, in the right wing of the back front, into one large and well-proportioned projecting room; which, although it essentially adds to the comfort of the dwelling, somewhat injures the effect of the exterior, by destroying the harmony of its design. The whole of the most valuable painted glass was removed from the mansion, by the predecessor of the present owner, and it cannot now be traced.

Some of the continued series of this glass in the adjoining house, of which there are still twelve panes remaining, was presented by Mr. Tarbutt, who occupied it, to Oriel College; but the varied character of it, both in point of merit and subjects, rendered it difficult for the provost and fellows to decide upon a proper place for its reception. Some portions appeared only suited for the chapel, while others seemed better adapted for the hall; but it is, at length, determined to introduce it into an oriel window, in a room in the tower over the entrance of the college, which is employed for audits, elections, and college examinations. There are so few pieces of merit, however, that the provost and fellows would probably not have assigned them a permanent position, were

they not desirous to preserve them as relics of one whom they justly venerate, as having conferred such distinguished honour upon their college.

While Butler resided at Hampstead his friend Secker passed much of his time with him there. In a letter from Miss Talbot to Mrs. Carter, dated Feb. 29, 1751, we find the following allusions to the frequency of their intercourse:—"The bishop (Secker) is in residence at St. Paul's all this month, and dines with the bishop of Durham every day." In another letter to the same lady, of April 9, 1751, after giving her an account of the occupation of the morning, she adds, "In the afternoon at Hampstead, where we dined with the bishop of Durham, in a most enchanting, gay, pretty, elegant house, that he has made there."

This explains the passage in Bishop Benson's letter to Secker, from Bath, where he says, in reference to the dangerous illness of Butler, and in anticipation of its fatal result, "I doubt Hampstead will be now not an agreeable place for you sometimes to retire to."

By the translation of Butler from the see of Bristol to that of Durham, more ample means were afforded for the indulgence of that extensive beneficence which was always so prominent a trait in his character. Scarcely had he taken possession of his new diocese, when he began to make great alterations in and about the Castle at Durham, as well as to commence extensive repairs and im-

provements at Auckland. Among the alterations at the Castle, he replaced the old tapestry hangings of the dining rooms with stuccoed walls, and rich ornaments below the cornices. He enlarged the apertures, and put in new gothic windows, on the north side of the edifice; and took down and rebuilt a considerable part of the outer walls at the north door, where his arms are placed. He moreover renewed the interior of the apartments appropriated for the use of the judges; setting up new fire-places, stoves, &c.; and having the whole arrangements conducted in a complete and substantial manner*.

In an article, which appeared in the *Bath Journal*, June 22, 1752, upon the death of Bishop Butler, and which is supposed to have been drawn up by Archbishop Secker, is the following allusion to this subject, as well as to the munificence with which he contributed to one of the local charities of his diocese:—"His lordship, upon his translation to Durham, immediately set about repairing his two seats there, which, if he had lived, he would have put into as good condition as he did his palace at Bristol. It is said that he entered himself an annual subscriber of 400*l.* a year to the County Hospital of Durham, as soon as he came to the bishoprick thereof."

In supporting the dignity of his high station, he not only avoided every thing mean, but evinced

* Vide Hutchinson's *Durham.*

the greatest liberality. He expressed himself desirous of imitating the generous spirit of his predecessor and first patron, Bishop Talbot*; and in compliance with this spirit, he appointed three days in every week for the entertainment of the principal gentry of the county and neighbourhood, who might feel disposed to accept his hospitality. The clergy of his diocese were always welcome guests, both at the castle of Durham, and at Auckland; and not only did he invite the poorest of his clerical brethren to the palace, but he occasionally visited them at their respective parishes. While, in some of his proceedings in his diocese, he resembled the laborious Bishop Burnet; he especially resembled him in the view he took of the revenues of his see. "He looked upon himself, with regard to his episcopal revenue, as a mere trustee for the church, bound to expend the whole in the management of a decent figure, suitable to his station, in hospitality, and acts of charity†."

* Bishop Talbot, the father of Edward Talbot, and the patron of Butler, Secker, and Benson, was born in 1659, and entered at Oriel College in 1674. When of age to take holy orders, he was presented to the living of Binfield, Berks. By the interest of his relative, the earl of Shrewsbury, he was, after the revolution, advanced to the deanery of Worcester, upon the removal of his predecessor, the nonjuring dean. In 1699, he was made bishop of Oxford; in 1715 he was appointed the successor of Dr. Burnet, at Sarum; and in 1721, upon the death of Lord Crewe, he was translated to Durham. Bishop Talbot died October 10, 1730.

† *Life of Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 724. The following extract

It was under the influence of this feeling, that the following occurrence arose. A gentleman once waited upon Bishop Butler, to lay before him the details of some projected benevolent institution. The bishop highly approved of the

from the life of this prelate, while it is highly honourable to his character, and a proof of his regard for the spiritual welfare of his diocese, traces the origin of the Gilbert Act, or Queen Anne's Bounty Fund, for the improvement of poor benefices.

"He perceived that the chief strength of the sectaries lay in the market-towns; the livings there were most commonly in the gift of the lord chancellor; and as the Lord Somers, during his enjoyment of the seals, left the nomination to those in the diocese of Sarum, to the bishop; he endeavoured to place in them none but learned, pious, and moderate divines, as being the best qualified to prevent the growth of schism. But as these benefices were generally small, and a poor church will be too often served by as poor a clerk; our author determined to obviate this difficulty, by bestowing upon these cures the prebends in his gift, as they became vacant; and till such a vacancy happened, out of his own income he allowed the minister of every such church a pension of twenty pounds a year. When the prebend itself was conferred upon him, the bishop insisted upon his giving a bond to resign it, if ever he quitted the living. Though this matter had been laid before the most eminent prelates and divines of our church, as well as the most learned amongst the canonists, who highly approved the design; yet it was so warmly opposed by some of the clergy, that in order to raise no farther strife in the church, our author was prevailed on to relinquish this project, and give up all the bonds he had taken. But as he could not, without the tenderest concern, behold the destitute condition of these poor benefices, most of which were attended with the largest cure of souls; so his disappointment in this scheme he had formed for his own bishoprick, only gave occasion to a more universal plan, which he projected for the improvement of all the small livings in England,

object in view, and calling his house-steward, inquired, how much money he then had in his possession? The answer was, "Five hundred pounds, my lord." "Five hundred pounds!" exclaimed his master; "what a shame for a bishop to have so much money! Give it away; give it all to this gentleman, for his charitable plan."

Notwithstanding the liberal hospitality and munificence of Butler upon suitable occasions, his private habits were simple and unostentatious. "A friend of mine, since deceased, told me," says the Rev. John Newton, "that when he was a young man, he once dined with the late Dr. Butler, at that time bishop of Durham; and though the guest was a man of fortune, and the interview by appointment, the provision was no more than a joint of meat and a pudding. The bishop apologised for his plain fare, by saying, 'that it was his way of living; that he had been long disgusted with the fashionable expense of time and money in entertainments, and was determined that it should receive no countenance from his example.'"—Vol. vi. p. 461.

In the disposal of his preferment, he was guided by a conscientious regard to the claims of

and which was liable to no exception. This he pressed forward with so much success, that it terminated at length in an act of parliament, passed in the second year of Queen Anne, *for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy.*"—*Life of Burnet*, folio ed. vol. i. p. 712.

the candidate; and was anxious, in the discharge of the sacred trust committed to him, to approve himself a faithful steward to the great lord of the vineyard. Bishop Butler felt strongly, that the most serious evils, to the cause of religion, had resulted from a corrupt exercise of church patronage; and that the greatest benefits would arise from a judicious selection of proper persons, competent, by their piety and attainments, to "make full proof of their ministry," in the church of Christ. To place none but clergymen of approved character and zeal, therefore, in the benefices in his gift, was the object he had in view; and had he been spared, to preside for a longer season over the spiritual affairs of the diocese of Durham, he would have encouraged and preferred many faithful pastors, whom the want of powerful interest, or their own unobtrusive humility, might have left to labour unknown, amidst privation and obscurity.

As an example of his care in looking around for suitable persons to fill the livings at his disposal, the following may be cited. On the tombstone of the Reverend Daniel Watson, in the Abbey Church of Bath, it is recorded, that, "his merits alone recommended him to the favour and patronage of Dr. Joseph Butler, bishop of Durham, who presented him to the vicarage of Lecke, in the county of York."

With Butler's views of the high responsibility

with which he was invested, as the patron of church preferment, it is not surprising that he should have regarded the serious obligation it imposed upon him as paramount to the claims of private friendship, or to the ties of family connexion. He accordingly applied the same unbending rule in the case of his own relatives, as in that of a stranger. He gave preferment to the son of his eldest brother, Robert, because he entertained a favourable opinion of his adaptation for the sacred character to which he aspired; as well as of his conduct when he had entered upon the pastoral office. He did *not* give preferment to the son of his second brother, Jonathan, because he did not perceive in him that consistency of habit with the clerical character, which he thought should always be looked for; and because, moreover, his nephew Jonathan appeared to have so little taste for the important work, to which he had nominally devoted himself, as to be seldom employed in its active and appropriate duties.

Jonathan Butler was a distinguished florist, and was not unknown in the walks of general literature. He was, also, a man of superior powers of mind; and was considered to bear a stronger resemblance to his uncle, the bishop, in the clearness and strength of his intellect, than any of the other branches of the family. These qualifications *alone*, however, were not regarded, by the conscientious mind of Butler, as constituting a

sufficient claim for preferment; upon the sound principle that, while the laborious bees undergo the toil, it was not right for the inactive drones to consume the honey. The Rev. Jonathan Butler was one of the three portionists of Waddesdon, in Buckinghamshire, to which he was presented by the duke of Marlborough in the year 1743.

It is supposed to have been when the eccentric bachelor, who offered the advance of money to his uncle if he would take the primacy, was conversing with the bishop upon the subject of his cousin Jonathan, and expressing his disappointment that he had done so little for his own family, that this unceremonious nephew observed,—"Methinks, my lord, it is a misfortune to be related to you."

The delicacy of Butler's feelings, in reference to the character of others, may be incidentally traced in his mode of noting down qualities of an unfavourable class. It appears from a memoranda book, (which is now in the library of Oriel College, Oxford, and which chiefly relates to secular matters connected with the deanery of St. Paul's, and the see of Durham,) that, when he had occasion to notice that, which it might be painful to the individual to have recorded in direct terms, he employed a *cipher* to convey his meaning. Thus, amongst other memoranda, are the following:

"Mr. —— of Stockton, very—l" and rich.

"Dawson, of Bedburn, of a very fair character in all respects.

"—— of Darlingⁿ, very l`.

"Wm. Martin, most highly recommended by Lord C. Baron Idle—proposed for keeping the courts at Northallerton, but others say very l`."

His diligence in making himself acquainted with those over whom he was called to preside, may be collected from such notes as the following:—"Mem. to enquire the character of Mr. Deacon, vicar of Osmotherly." This was a very small benefice with a considerable population, and might probably be one of the cases in which Bishop Butler would delight to exercise his power of promoting a deserving clergyman, from a poorer to a better incumbency. The attention, too, which he was ready to pay to *favourable testimony*, even in reference to matters which did not strictly belong to his episcopal functions, may be gathered from another notice.—"Ordered Mr. Robinson to be dealt with for malt, upon hearing a mighty good character of him.—G."

Notwithstanding the studious and abstracted habits of Butler, he was extremely fond of music. When he was not engaged in the evening with his friends and clergy, or in the necessary duties of his sacred office, his under secretary, Mr. Emm, who had been a chorister at St. Paul's, was in the habit of playing to him upon the organ; and this he found to be a grateful relief to his mind, after severe application to study.

CHAPTER X.

Butler's health begins to decline.—Removal to Clifton.—Ditto to Bath.—Secker's anxiety about him.—Letters from Forster and Benson to Secker.—Archbishop of Canterbury's remark upon ditto. — Anecdote of Butler's last illness, by Mr. Cecil.—Published ditto.—Dr. Chalmers's ditto.—Late bishop of Peterborough's ditto.

THE important sphere of usefulness, which the see of Durham presented, had scarcely opened before the career of Bishop Butler, when his friends observed, with anxiety and alarm, that his health was visibly impaired, and his strength beginning to decline. After consulting, and pursuing the course recommended by, the most eminent physicians in the north, his indisposition assumed a more serious aspect, and he was advised to repair to Clifton, and make trial of the waters of that place. These having failed to produce the desired effect, his removal to Bath was suggested, where he was shortly afterwards conveyed in a broken and exhausted state.

Secker, who was then bishop of Oxford and dean of St. Paul's, felt the warmest interest in the case of his early and beloved associate; and being himself at that moment only partially recovered from a severe illness, it was judged improper for him to attempt to visit the sinking prelate. But, although he knew that Dr. Forster, the chaplain

of Bishop Butler, was strongly attached to him, and would suffer nothing to pass unattempted which might contribute to his restoration, his anxiety on Butler's account was so great, that he wrote to his brother-in-law Bishop Benson, imploring him to hasten to their common friend, and report to him faithfully the condition in which he found him. Dr. Forster, also, received instructions from Secker, to transmit to him regular and minute intelligence concerning Butler.

The letters which were written, in consequence of this request, to the bishop of Oxford, contain a full account of the progress and symptoms of the bishop of Durham's disease, from the period of his arrival at Bath, upon the 3rd of June, until his decease there upon the 16th of the same month. With the exception of such portions of these letters as refer to Dr. Forster's private affairs, they are as follow.

"*Bath, June* 4, 1752.

"My Lord,

"I have barely strength and spirits to inform your lordship, that my good lord was brought hither in a very weak condition yesterday, in hopes of receiving some benefit from these waters.

I am, my lord,
your lordship's most dutiful son,
and obliged humble servant,
NATHANIEL FORSTER."

"To Right Rev. the lord bishop of Oxford,
at St. Paul's, London."

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO BISHOP OF OXFORD.

" *Glocester, June* 8, 1752.

" My dear Lord,

" I am very glad to hear that you are got safely to London. But though you are there, I hope I need not caution you not to venture abroad and into the church, until you can both with care and safety do it.

" At the same time that I read your letter this morning, I received one from Dr. Forster to the same effect with that which he had written to you. I have appointed and given public notice of a confirmation, at the very furthest part of my diocese, the very contrary way to Bath, upon Sunday next, so that I cannot possibly be at liberty to go thither till the end of next week. But then I propose to do it, and I pray God that I may find the waters there to have better effect, than those of Bristol have had.

" I had a letter from the bishop of Worcester but the end of last week, giving me hopes that the bishop of Durham was a great deal better. I know not what now to think. But the will of God be done. The bishop of Worcester will be here with me to-morrow night.

" If upon trial, it should be found that the Bristol waters do no service, it will certainly be best that the bishop should, if able, return to London, and I should be much for trying Ward, as well as Dr. Nicholls.

"I doubt Hampstead will be now not an agreeable place for you sometimes to retire to. I hope Dr. Frewin is still at Bath, that his advice may be had."

DR. FORSTER TO BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"*Bath, June* 8, 1752.

"My very good Lord,

"The best notion which I can at present give you of my poor lord of Durham's case is, that he has almost all the symptoms which he had when he was first seized, viz., thirst, sickness of stomach, (which last, however, is considerably abated of late,) dry skin, and great feverish heats, chiefly at night; but what renders the case almost desperate, they are at present attended with a weakness of body, and lowness of spirits at intervals, that is quite shocking. It is with difficulty that he can walk down to take the air for an hour in a chair. His three physicians, Dr. Harrington, Dr. Hartley, and Dr. Moysey, are quite agreed as to his case, and the difficulty of doing any thing which may not kill him in the very operation. As he was very feverish last night, they have this morning put on blisters on his legs, and ordered him the bezoar draught to endeavour to raise a sweat. As Dr. Frewin could not come over to Clifton, his lordship would not send for him here. All his physicians seem to be clear that his disorder is owing to some obstructions in some of the organs of digestion, without being

able to determine where the fault principally lies. They say, however, that he is so weak at present, that any direct attempt to remove these obstructions as yet would be death to him. On mentioning Dr. James's fever powders, I was told by Dr. Hartley, 'that one dose might kill him on the spot.' In short, I cannot tell what to say or do, and have, at present, barely time from my necessary attendance on his lordship to thank you for both your very kind letters to, &c.

NATH. FORSTER."

DR. FORSTER TO BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"*Bath, June* 9, 1752.

"My very good Lord,

"Soon after I wrote my last, I prevailed upon his lordship to call in Dr. Frewin, who seemed to approve all that had been done, and only ordered salt of wormwood to be inserted in the sudorific draughts, with a view to his lordship's feverish thirst, heat, and foulness of tongue. I forget whether I mentioned the application of blisters yesterday morning, which have risen very well. But that is of little consequence, as upon the whole things grow worse. The great point at present with the physicians is to get the better, if possible, of the fever, which has kept his lordship in continual heat, (excepting only a short interval of sleep for six or seven hours,) for these two last days. Unless nature brings this to a crisis soon,

it seems impossible that his lordship should live many days. As for myself, notwithstanding my present anxiety for a person, my affection for whom has, I believe, always borne some proportion to the regard and kindness which he has shown for me, I hope God will grant me a sufficient degree of resignation to bear whatever may happen, with an evenness of temper, which, in such cases, I have seldom found wanting, in your lordship's

Most dutiful son, and obliged humble servant,
NATH. FORSTER.

"P.S. My lord of Gloucester is said to be arrived here, but I have not seen him yet."

DR. FORSTER TO BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"*June* 10, 1752.

"My very good Lord,

"Every bad symptom increases so fast on my poor good lord, that the next account you hear concerning him, will most probably be the worst that can be sent, from

My lord, &c.,
NATHANIEL FORSTER."

BISHOP BENSON TO DITTO.

"*Bath, June* 12, 1752.

"My dear Lord,

"After my company left me yesterday in the evening, I set out for this place. I had an

opportunity of going in Lord Berkeley's coach part of the way, which made my journey last night the easier, and early this morning I got hither; and found my poor lord not only as bad, but worse than my worst fears had suggested. He seemed to me, when I first saw him, to be at the point of death. This his physicians do not apprehend. But they think him not far from it, and they look upon it as a quite gone case. I have talked with them separately and together. As they agree that nothing more can be tried in a regular way to help him, I proposed to them the taking an irregular step, and giving Dr. James's powder. This they have consulted upon, and agree that it would immediately cause his death, whichever way it should operate, as his weakness is so very great. The only nourishment he can take is a little milk and Bath water, which of late seldom stays upon his stomach. He has taken a little tar water, which at present does keep on the stomach.

"The bishop's two nephews are here: and a most distressed and melancholy family here is. I wish that poor Dr. Forster, whose both care and concern are as great as possible, does not bring his own health into great danger. He desires that his services may be presented to you.

"I had, as I told you in my last, appointed and given public notice of a confirmation on Sunday, at a place quite on the opposite side of my diocese, which obliges me to leave this place

this evening, and get as far as I can. Indeed, if I could have stayed, I do not see of what service, in the situation, I could be. The bishop is scarcely able to speak; and if he were, his physicians would have him keep from it, so that I should only behold a most melancholy sight, which at present I can hardly support the doing.

"I have promised, if my lord lives, to come hither again the end of the next week, or before that, if they think that my coming may be of any use. But I do not see that it can in any respect be so. His attention to any one or any thing is immediately lost and gone.

"Dr. Forster has given me a letter from Miss Talbot, which he desired might be returned, as my lord is incapable, not only of reading, but attending to any thing read or said. He is, for the most part, sensible, but his attention to any thing is very little or none. He has, I believe, left Dr. Forster his executor. I must by and by undergo what I dread, the seeing him for the last time. But not our wills, but the will of God be done, to which I humbly submit.

"The physicians have talked privately together, and are positive James's Powders cannot have any but an immediate bad effect.

"The heat of the weather increases the uneasiness, and will probably be the occasion of putting a more speedy end to it."

BISHOP BENSON TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"*Glocester, June* 17, 1752.

"My dear Lord,

"After my last to you from Bath, the last time I went in to the bishop, I found both his understanding and speech, after a little sleep he had had, more perfect than they were before. This made my taking leave so much the more painful. It must be, as he with a good deal of emotion said, a 'farewell for ever,' and said kind and affecting things more than I could bear. I had a great deal of time afterwards for melancholy, but, I hope, useful reflection, when alone on my journey, and which I was very glad gave me opportunity of being alone.

"The liver, by the account which the physicians gave, was so much decayed, that no art was capable of restoring it; and nothing but the formation of a new organ could restore him. If this was the case, it was in vain to talk, or think, of any expedients.

"I talked with Dr. Forster and his nephews of a proper place for his burial, and the cathedral of Bristol seemed to me, as he was so near it, the most proper, if there should be no direction concerning it in his will. It ought, to be sure, to be private, and with no great expense, and especially, if the state of his circumstances is no better than they seemed to apprehend.

"The bishop, when he told Dr. Forster that

he had made him his executor, said to him, 'that as he had not been able to do any thing else for him, he hoped he might hereby make him some amends for the expense he had been at in his attendance upon him.' I have heard nothing since, nor can expect to hear any thing, but an account of his death.

Adieu, my good lord," &c.

DR. FORSTER TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

" My very good Lord, " *June* 16, 1752.

" This morning, about eleven o'clock, my best of friends exchanged this life for a far better. Your lordship, on this melancholy occasion, will excuse, I doubt not, the shortness of this, from

Your lordship's most dutiful son, &c. &c.,

N. FORSTER.

" It is proposed, agreeably to my lord of Gloucester's advice, to bury his lordship at Bristol."

DR. FORSTER TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

" My very good Lord, " *June* 17, 1752.

" Besides the reasons which will immediately occur to your lordship, for troubling you at present with the enclosed, there is another of the utmost importance to myself in my uneasy and disturbed condition; viz., in order to desire the favour of your lordship's judgment, on a question

or two of the greatest consequence. First, whether a person who is considerably above 100*l.* in debt, (every farthing of which was contracted in consequence of my late situation,) can with tolerable safety, (for I hope your lordship will do me the justice to think, that I shall scruple no trouble that may be necessary,) enter upon a trust of so perplexed and complicated a nature, in which, besides the affair of building accounts, and dilapidations, about twenty of his lordship's relations, and several of them minors, are concerned; and from which, as your lordship will easily perceive, I cannot hope to be discharged for many years; during all which time, I must necessarily be exposed to a great variety of accidents, law-suits, &c. Secondly, in case it be really incumbent on me, notwithstanding all these dangers and difficulties, (as I suppose it may be,) to undertake this trust, what precautions your lordship's superior judgment may at present enable you to suggest to one who is, on all accounts, quite at a loss how to act, in order to the entering upon this most perplexed affair with tolerable security.

"I see, too, plainly, that his lordship's nephew, Mr. Butler, the attorney at Wantage, is quite dissatisfied at his lordship's disposition; and as he is heir-at-law to the house at Hampstead, make no doubt but that, if there be any flaw in the first article, for want either of proper surrender in court, to the uses of the will, or of any other

circumstance, he will take advantage of it. And though he professes at present, to be quite pleased that the care of his lordship's affairs is left to me, yet I cannot but be greatly apprehensive of danger from that quarter, throughout the whole course of the affair, especially with regard to passing my accounts, in order to the settling what may probably remain, if anything does, for the residuary legacies.

"Your lordship will, I hope, excuse my giving you this trouble about the concerns of a person whose particular regard and affection to your lordship, (as I had frequent, or rather daily opportunities of observing,) was no less visible on all occasions, in your lordship's absence, than when he had the happiness of enjoying your lordship's company; and who, at the last, when, for a day or two before his death, he had in a great measure lost the use of his faculties, was perpetually talking about writing to your lordship, though without seeming to have any thing which, at least, he was at all capable of communicating to you.

"It was a matter of the utmost surprise to me, when, about five days before his lordship's decease, he acquainted me that he had made me his executor; and in a most affectionate manner, told me he hoped, that though he had little to leave me, (mentioning the sum,) yet he hoped he had done all that lay in his power, to recommend me to his successor. I should have imagined that I had

lived long enough with his lordship, to have enabled him to see, that I was one of the most unfit persons in the world, for the execution of this trust.

"But I seem to forget, that, in giving vent to my own uneasiness, I am forcing your attention to dwell too long on so melancholy a subject. Permit me, however, to desire, that if your lordship thinks proper that any particular mention be made of my late very good lord, in the papers, your lordship would do the justice which you alone are capable of doing to his character.

"His lordship is to be buried on Saturday; and the Monday following, I propose to bring his family towards Whitehall, in order to their being dismissed, and to settle all such affairs as require immediate dispatch.

"I beg leave to hope, that your lordship has long ago been free from your disorder; and am

Your lordship's most dutiful son,
and most obliged and humble servant,
NATHANIEL FORSTER."

"Are there not some things in his lordship's will, which are incapable of being settled, without an order from Chancery?"

DR. FORSTER TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"*June* 18, 1752.

"My very good Lord,

"If it were possible for your lordship to conceive the intolerable anxiety and disturbance

of mind, which I felt from about the time of my lord of Gloucester's arrival hither, to that of my very good lord's decease, your lordship would, I am satisfied, be inclined to pardon any omission or fault I may have been guilty of during that dismal interval. I need only mention as a specimen, that at two different times, when I had barely stept to Dr. Hartley's, on the other side of the square, to talk with him about some new particulars in his lordship's case, I could not find my way back hither, but went into a different house each time.

" My lord of Gloucester informed me, that he had acquainted your lordship that my late lord was considered as absolutely a dying man by all his physicians. We both did all that lay in our power to desire them to use James's Powder, or any other most desperate remedy they could think of. This, whilst his lordship continued here, they absolutely declined, as thinking my lord too weak to bear the operation of any active medicine. But immediately after he was gone, I sent for them again, when after a consultation, they ordered a small dose of Merc. Alkalizatus, with a few grains of calomel, as the most proper method of throwing off the bile. But the additional weakness, and the convulsive hiccups which came on about the same time, were such evident symptoms of an approaching dissolution, that, though I did not suffer the physicians to intermit prescribing,

to the very last, every thing that might afford the least chance of doing any good, yet I could not persuade myself that there was any prospect of an alteration for the better. And this, (if any reason can be given for what a person who was scarcely in his right mind did or omitted,) was the reason of my not writing any further particulars for those few terrible days to your lordship.

"The medicine which your lordship was so kind as to order in your last, was given to his lordship about a month ago, (and continued by his lordship till he loathed it, after about a week's use of it,) by the Bristol physicians at my desire. But from that time, to that of his death, he was, for the most part, incapable of digesting any thing, and grew sensibly weaker every day, without, however, the least pain, even to the time of his death; the last four and twenty hours preceding which were divided between short broken slumbers, and intervals of a calm but disordered talk, when awake.

"It is the opinion of Dr. Hartley and Mr. Pearson, that without directions from Chancery, I can neither finally divide any remainder, during Mrs. Cope's life, nor prevent myself from being liable to accidents with regard to the 1200*l.* to Mrs. Allwright, nor pay anything, (supposing a remainder,) to the infirmary at Newcastle, nor have any authentic discharge for many years, from the number of minors among the residuary

legatees; not to mention, that even the freehold estate, lately purchased by his lordship for the new church, near Bristol, is supposed by Mr. Pearson to be still so far vested in his lordship, that at least some trouble may be given by the relations on that head, in reference to the first article of his lordship's will. How all these things will be conducted by a person in my present disordered state of mind and circumstances, God only knows, &c.

N. FORSTER."

DR. FORSTER TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"*Bath, June* 21, 1752.

"My very good Lord,

"Yesterday evening I attended my late great and good friend to the place where, about two years ago, I waited upon him from hence by his orders with very different spirits, and on a very different occasion. His body was interred near the throne. And as my lord of Gloucester had advised that the funeral should be quite a private one, the hearse was followed only by two coaches and six, the servants in livery going before it on horseback. The pall was supported by the chancellor, Dr. Waterland, and four others of the senior clergy, who were most known to his lordship, and followed by myself and the rest of the family, in the same order in which we usually attended his lordship to the cathedral at Dur-

ham. The sub-dean, Mr. Chapman, performed the service.

"I cannot sufficiently express my sense of your lordship's goodness, in the advice with which you honoured me in your last. Nothing but the bad light in which every thing appears to a disturbed mind on such a terrible shock, joined with the visible appearance of chagrin and discontent in the nephew I mentioned, and in another who came here about the same time, could have made me entertain the least doubt about the necessity of my undertaking the trust with which his lordship has honoured me, be the danger or difficulty of it ever so great. As to what your lordship is so kind as to observe concerning the legacy, I am fully persuaded that his lordship apprehended that a more considerable one might have done me more hurt than good with regard to what he told me he chiefly had in view, when he mentioned the affair, in his recommendation to a successor. Indeed, I had the honour, and, as I must now add, the misfortune, of being on so particular a footing with his lordship ever since his return from Durham, as whatever be my future lot in life, makes my present loss greater than even your lordship, who knew him most, can easily imagine.

"It was said lately at the archbishop's, where the bishop of Winchester dined with his grace at Croydon, that my late good lord decayed for want of care with regard to good restorative diet; but,

if the whole class of things of that kind could have done any service, it was provided for, especially here and at Bristol, with all the abundance and variety that the fullest and most particular and constantly repeated directions, to one of the best cooks in England, could afford; and as to what was the real cause of this unhappy affair, the four physicians seem to be almost as much in the dark as any of the preceding ones; but more of this when I have the honour of waiting on your lordship in town, &c.

My Lord, &c.,

NATHANIEL FORSTER."

The originals of these letters are deposited at Lambeth, amongst Archbishop Secker's private manuscripts. They are enclosed in a paper which has the following inscription upon it, in the handwriting of that prelate: "Letters from Dr. Forster and Bishop Benson, concerning the last illness and death of Bishop Butler; to be kept at Lambeth, as negative arguments against the calumny of his dying a papist."

It is scarcely possible for any one to peruse these documents, and to bear in mind the person to whom they were addressed, and the parties by whom they were written, without feeling, that they afford negative, indeed, but conclusive and incontrovertible evidence of the utter groundlessness of the report alluded to. For, as it was

observed by his grace the present archbishop of Canterbury, to the writer of this *Memoir*, upon the subject, "Had any disposition to such an apostacy been shown by the bishop, *is it probable* that not the slightest allusion to so distressing a circumstance should be found in the letters of such men, one of them constantly attending on him, and the other devoting as much time to him as his official engagements would allow?"

Bishop Porteus refers to the imputation of this apostacy as a "strange slander, founded on the weakest pretences, and most trivial circumstances that can be imagined;" and judiciously adds, "Surely, it is a very unwise piece of policy, in those who profess themselves enemies to popery, to take so much pains to bring the most respectable names within its pale; and to give it the merit of having gained over those who were the brightest ornaments, and firmest supporters of the Protestant cause*."

It is stated, upon the authority of the late Reverend Richard Cecil, that, during Bishop Butler's last illness, when Dr. Forster was one day reading to him the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, the bishop stopped him at the 16th verse, and requested him to read it a second time. When this was done, after a pause, he said, "I never before felt those words to be so satisfactory and consoling."

* *Life of Secker*, p. 58.

An anecdote of Butler, on his death-bed, has been often published, and widely circulated, of which it might be expected, that some trace would be found in the course of the preceding correspondence, but there is no allusion it it. If we suppose, however, that the scene described occurred in the last interview of Bishop Benson with his dying friend, and not in conversation with Dr. Forster, it might have formed one of the topics referred to by that prelate, in his letter of June 17th, of which he speaks as "*affecting things more than he could bear.*" It is thus given in a work entitled, *Anecdotes illustrative of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism** :—"When Bishop Butler lay on his death-bed, he called for his chaplain, and said, 'Though I have endeavoured to avoid sin, and to please God, to the utmost of my power, yet, from the consciousness of perpetual infirmities, I am still afraid to die.' 'My lord,' said the chaplain, 'you have forgotten that Jesus Christ is a Saviour.' 'True,' was the answer; 'but how shall I know that he is a Saviour for me?' 'My lord, it is written, Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.' 'True,' said the bishop; 'and I am surprised, that though I have read that Scripture a thousand times over, I never felt its virtue till this moment; and now I die happy.'"

As the work in which this anecdote appears,

* The same anecdote appears in vol. i. p. 334, of the *Missionary Register*, 1813.

was published by Oliphant, in Edinburgh, in 1825, the writer of this *Memoir* inquired of Dr. Chalmers if he was acquainted with the authority upon which it rested. Dr. Chalmers states, that the only anecdote he ever heard relating to the last hours of Bishop Butler, was one supposed to have been mentioned by his chaplain to the Reverend Henry Venn, of Yelling, to the following effect:— "That the bishop, in his dying moments, had expressed it as an awful thing to appear before the August Governor of the world. On this his chaplain expounded the efficacy of that blood which cleanseth from all sin, and in terms so adjusted to the felt and expressed apprehensions of the dying prelate, that his last utterance was, 'O, this is comfortable!' and with these words on his lips he expired." One of the surviving daughters of Mr. Venn, of Yelling, distinctly recollects that her father often spoke of the last hours of Bishop Butler, but remembers no allusion to his chaplain. He said, "Bishop Butler in his last sickness looked to Christ as a poor sinner, and died saying, he had never before had such a view of his own utter inability to save himself."

That something of the nature of that which is here related occurred, either in the conversations of the bishop with his chaplain, or with his friend Bishop Benson, is not improbable; and assuming it to be true, while it indicated the humility of his mind, and the absence of self-dependence, it

showed his desire, like St. Paul, to be "found not having his own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith." Phil. iii. 9. It added another example, to many on record, of some of the most holy and useful servants of God, who, when they approached the solemn boundary which separates time from eternity, upon a review of the imperfection of their best services, have felt with the prophet, when he saw a vision of the Lord in his glory, and said, "Woe is me! for I am undone, because I am a man of unclean lips." Nor can it be doubted, that, when the mind is enabled to discern the contrast between the unsullied purity of the Divine character, and the "iniquity which cleaveth to our holy things,"—whether this be done amidst the ordinary avocations of life, or in the silent chamber of death, the effect must be deep self-abasement. It was when the patient and exemplary Job, that "perfect and upright man," after obtaining a more distinct view of the glorious attributes of God, said, "I have heard of Thee with the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee;" that, with profound humility, he added, "Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes!"

Well is it observed by Professor Whewell, in the conclusion of his sermons already cited, "But above and beyond all other offices of conscience, remaining when all else is done, and beginning

when all else is ended, will be her task of reminding us, how little is our all, how scanty our abundance, how empty the fulness of our obedience. It will be her office, as long as our service of our Master continues, to cry out to us that we are unprofitable servants, that we have done far less than it was our duty to do. Our own wisdom and knowledge, our own righteousness and holiness, will vanish out of our sight; and we shall only think of that which stirs the apostle's soul, when he contemplates the provisions for the salvation of man—'O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God!'"—(P. 88.)

It was observed by one, in whom were conspicuously united exalted piety, and pre-eminent usefulness, "as a proof of great wisdom, that while the younger believer is described by Bunyan, in his *Pilgrim's Progress*, as passing easily through the stream of death, a less buoyant hope and a deeper flood is represented as the portion of the aged Christian." "It is the peculiarity," he said, "of the Christian religion, that humility and holiness increase in equal proportions*."

Thus, when his own career was about to terminate, he remarked, "With regard to myself, I have nothing whatsoever to urge, but the poor publican's plea, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!'" And upon its being observed to him shortly before he expired, "You have your feet upon the Rock,"

* *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. v. p. 364.

he answered, "I do not venture to speak so positively, but I hope I have." What sober-minded person would consider this beautiful exhibition of humility less blessed, than the state of the younger believer, whose language may savour more of confidence, because he has less experience and self-knowledge? Rather would he be disposed to say of the philanthropist, who laboured so successfully to burst the fetters in which avarice and injustice had involved the body, and of the prelate who laboured so successfully to remove the trammels which a false philosophy had imposed upon the mind, as the Romish priest said of the devoted Irish Protestant bishop, "Sit anima mea, cum Bedello!"

An interesting allusion to the reverential awe, with which Bishop Butler habitually contemplated the Divine character, occurred in a conversation between the late bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Madan, and his great nephew, a few days before that prelate's death. "As I was sitting alone," says his relative*, "with the bishop, who had just been dressed and laid upon the sofa, he said, 'I have had an observation of Bishop Butler's much on my mind lately. He was walking with his chaplain, Dr. Forster, when he suddenly turned towards him, and with much earnestness, said, 'I was thinking, doctor, what an awful thing it is

* The Reverend Joseph Pratt, rector of Paston, near Peterborough.

for a human being to stand before the Great Moral Governor of the world, to give an account of all his actions in this life.' To which Bishop Madan added, 'And so it would be an awful thing, if we had nothing to trust to but our own merits and deservings.' After a moment's pause, he added, 'Hah! and if such a man as *Butler* thought it an awful thing—what must others? what must *I* think? But I have set my foot on a rock. Jesus Christ has 'borne our sins, and carried our sorrows,' and on him I can rest with confidence!'"

The bishop of Peterborough's uncle, Dr. Spencer Cowper, who died in 1774, was dean of Durham, and from him the bishop might probably have heard the anecdote. The similarity of the expressions attributed to Butler in this anecdote, and in that related by Dr. Chalmers of his dying moments, cannot but strike the notice of the reader. The manner of his address to Dr. Forster, too, will illustrate the habit to which Dean Tucker alluded, when he said, that Bishop Butler was accustomed sometimes to stop short in his walk to put a question.

CHAPTER XI.

The death of Bishop Butler.—Inscription on his tomb by Forster.—Anonymous lines on him.—New monument.—Inscription on ditto, by Southey.—Description of Butler in Hutchinson's *Durham*.—Ditto in Surtees's ditto.—Mrs. C. Talbot's description of him.—Bishop Benson's death hastened by his visit to Butler.—Character of him.—Proofs of remarkable friendship between Butler and Secker.

THE author of the *Analogy*, then, after gradually sinking from the period of his arrival at Bath, while supported by the arms of his chaplain, peacefully died in the faith of the "*One Mediator between God and men**," upon the morning of Tuesday, June 16, 1752; and was interred in the cathedral, at Bristol, on the evening of the following Saturday, June 20.

Over his remains is a marble stone, with an inscription from the pen of Dr. Forster. This inscription, having been nearly obliterated, was restored by the late dean, Dr. Beeke, and is as follows:—

H. S.
Reverendus admodum in Christo Pater
JOSEPHUS BUTLER, L.L.D.
Hujusce primò Diœceseos
Deinde Dunelmensis Episcopus.
Qualis quantusque Vir erat
Sua Libentissime agnovit Etas;

* 1 Tim. ii. 5.

Et si quid Præsuli aut Scriptori ad famam valent
Mens altissima, ingenii perspicacis, et subacti vis,
Animusque pius, simplex, candidus, liberalis,
Mortui haud facile evanescet memoria.
Obiit Bathoniæ
XVI Kal. Jul. A. D. 1752.
Annos natus 60.

The date of his decease is here erroneously written July, instead of June. His academic degree is also inaccurately stated. It was D.C.L., and not L.L.D. In the books of the registry at Bristol, containing a list of the bishops of the see, Bishop Butler is entered as D.D.

Some of the publications of the day introduced the following lines upon Butler, in the form of an epitaph, from an anonymous correspondent. They also appear in the *London Magazine*, for May, 1754; and in the *Supplement to the Biographical Dictionary*, published in 1767.

Beneath this marble BUTLER lies entombed,
Who, with a soul inflamed by love divine,
His life in presence of his God consumed,
Like the bright lamps before the holy shrine.
His aspect pleasing, mind with learning fraught,
His eloquence was like a chain of gold,
That the wild passions of mankind controlled.
Merit, wherever to be found, he sought:
Desire of transient riches, he had none;
These he, with bounteous hand, did well dispense,
Bent to fulfil the ends of Providence,
His heart still fixed on an immortal crown.

His heart a mirror was, of purest kind,
Where the bright image of his Maker shined;
Reflecting, faithful to the throne above,
Th' irradiant glories of the Mystic Dove.

In the year 1834, a monument, of a chaste and elegant form, was erected in Bristol cathedral, by subscription, to the memory of Bishop Butler. This tribute of respect to their former diocesan, originated with C. B. Fripp, Esq., and the design was gratuitously presented by his brother, T. C. Fripp, Esq., architect. With the exception of the bishops of Bristol and Salisbury, the sum required was chiefly contributed by gentlemen of Bristol and its neighbourhood; and it was raised before the learned provost of Oriel, Dr. Hawkins, was aware of the object in contemplation. Having, however, afterwards been informed, that the expenses would exceed the estimate by ten guineas, he begged that his college might be allowed to make up the deficiency, and sent that sum to the committee of management. The deficiency, however, did not amount to so much, and a portion of it was consequently returned to the college, as well as a portion also of the liberal contribution of the Rev. W. Lisle Bowles, canon residentiary of Sarum.

The distinguished poet and historian, Dr. Southey, as a native of Bristol, was requested to furnish the inscription, which he did in the following terms and manner:—

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY
OF
JOSEPH BUTLER, D.C.L.
TWELVE YEARS BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESE,
AND
AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF DURHAM,
WHOSE MORTAL PART IS DEPOSITED
IN THE CHOIR OF THIS CATHEDRAL.

OTHERS HAD ESTABLISHED
THE HISTORICAL AND PROPHETICAL GROUNDS
OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION,
AND
THAT SURE TESTIMONY OF ITS TRUTH,
WHICH IS FOUND IN ITS PERFECT ADAPTATION
TO THE HEART OF MAN.
IT WAS RESERVED FOR HIM TO DEVELOPE
ITS ANALOGY TO THE CONSTITUTION
AND COURSE OF NATURE;
AND LAYING HIS STRONG FOUNDATIONS
IN THE DEPTH OF THAT GREAT ARGUMENT,
THERE TO CONSTRUCT
ANOTHER AND IRREFRAGABLE PROOF:
THUS RENDERING PHILOSOPHY
SUBSERVIENT TO FAITH;
AND FINDING IN OUTWARD AND VISIBLE THINGS
THE TYPE AND EVIDENCE
OF THOSE WITHIN THE VEIL.

BORN A. D. 1692. DIED 1752.

"HE WHO BELIEVES THE SCRIPTURE
TO HAVE PROCEEDED FROM HIM WHO IS THE
AUTHOR OF NATURE, MAY WELL EXPECT
TO FIND THE SAME SORT OF DIFFICULTIES
IN IT AS ARE FOUND IN THE CONSTITUTION
OF NATURE."—*Origen. Philocal.* p. 23.

In Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, Bishop Butler is thus described:—"He was of a most reverend aspect; his face, thin and pale; but there was a divine placidness in his countenance which inspired veneration, and expressed the most benevolent mind. His white hair hung gracefully on his shoulders, and his whole figure was patriarchal."—Vol. i. p. 578.

In Surtees's History of the same place, are the following remarks upon him:—"During the short time that Butler held the see of Durham, he conciliated all hearts. In advanced years, and, on the episcopal throne, he retained the same genuine modesty, and native sweetness of disposition, which had distinguished him in youth, and in retirement. During the ministerial performance of the sacred office, a divine animation seemed to pervade his whole manner, and lighted up his pale wan countenance, already marked with the progress of disease, like a torch glimmering in its socket, yet bright and useful to the last."—P. 122.

Mrs. Catharine Talbot, in a letter, dated June 13, 1752, to Mrs. Carter, thus speaks of Bishop Butler:—"The dangerous illness of one of our most dear and valued friends, the excellent bishop of Durham, gives to every day a most painful anxiety for the coming in of the post from Bath. He was my father's friend. I could almost say my remembrance of him goes back some years before I was born, from the lively imagery which

the conversations I used to hear in my earliest years have imprinted on my mind. But from the first of my real remembrance, I have ever known in him the kind affectionate friend, the faithful adviser, which he would condescend to when I was quite a child; and the most delightful companion, from a delicacy of thinking, an extreme politeness, a vast knowledge of the world, and a something peculiar, to be met with in nobody else. And all this in a man whose sanctity of manners, and sublimity of genius, gave him one of the first ranks among men, long before he was raised to that rank in the world, which must still, if what I painfully fear should happen, aggravate such a loss, as one cannot but infinitely regret the good which such a mind in such a station must have done. But this is an idle, a wrong regret. Providence needs not this or that instrument, but whatever Providence orders is best. But you will not wonder that I am affected, that I am very low, because I see mama low, I see my lord affected. We all live in suspense; and there is not a room in the house that does not peculiarly remind us of him who was so lately its possessor, and who has so often, so *cheerfully*, and hospitably received us in it*."

This letter was written at the deanery of St. Paul's, to which Dr. Secker, then bishop of

* Vide *Memoirs of Mrs. Carter*, (4to ed. p. 87.) by the Rev. Montagu Pennington, M. A.

Oxford, succeeded, upon the translation of Bishop Butler to the see of Durham.

There were two apostolic precepts which uniformly regulated the conduct of Bishop Butler. The one was, "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice." The other was, "And be ye kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you."—Ephes. iv. 31, 32.

So conspicuous, indeed, was his readiness to forgive injuries, that the following lines were suggested by it, and published after his decease:

> Some write their wrongs in marble; he, more just,
> Stoop'd down serene, and wrote them in the dust.
> Trod under foot, the sport of every wind,
> Swept from the earth, and blotted from his mind;
> There, buried in the dust, he bade them lie,
> And griev'd they could not 'scape the Almighty's Eye.

The anxiety of Bishop Benson to visit his dying friend, notwithstanding the pressing engagements of his diocese, was the occasion of shortening his days. In his letter to Secker, dated June 8, which was on Monday, he states, that the confirmation upon the approaching Sunday, "in the very contrary way to Bath," would prevent his going hither till the end of the next week. Upon Friday the 12th, however, we find that he addressed a second letter to Secker from Bath, where he had that moring arrived at an

early hour, after having left Gloucester the preceding night. He remained with Bishop Butler during the day, and was compelled to commence his journey homewards the same evening. Upon the following Wednesday, the 17th, he wrote again to Secker, after his confirmation, from Gloucester, and alluded both to the kind and affecting things addressed to him by his dying friend, and to his own "melancholy and useful reflections," during his long and solitary journey. The effects of the harassing fatigue and painful excitement he underwent, in consequence of his efforts to perform this visit of sympathy to the venerated prelate, without neglecting the pressing claims of his own diocese, proved too much for his physical powers, and hurried him to the tomb.

The mournful event is thus stated in Porteus's *Life of Archbishop Secker*:—"At the request of Dr. Secker, he went from Gloucester to Bath to visit Bishop Butler, who lay ill at that place, and he found him almost at the point of death. After one day's stay there, he was obliged to go to the northern extremity of his diocese, to confirm. The fatigue of these journies, (for, according to his constant practice, he travelled on horseback,) and his business together, produced an inflammation, and that a mortification, in his bowels, of which he died."

The following notice of this amiable and excellent prelate occurs in the same work:—

"His piety though awfully strict, was inexpressibly amiable. It diffused such a sweetness through his temper, and such a benevolence over his countenance, as none who were acquainted with him can ever forget. Bad nerves, bad health, and naturally bad spirits, were so totally subdued by it, that he not only seemed, but in reality was the happiest of men. He looked upon all that the world calls important, its pleasures, its riches, its various competitions, with a playful and good-humoured kind of contempt; and could make persons ashamed of their follies, by a raillery that never gave pain to any human being. Of vice he always spoke with severity and detestation, but looked on the vicious with the tenderness of a pitying angel."

Bishop Benson "was educated at the Charterhouse, and removed from thence to Christ Church in Oxford, where he had several noble pupils, whose friendship and veneration for him continued to the end of life. His favourite study in early years was the mathematics, in which he was well skilled; and had also an excellent taste for painting, architecture, and the other fine arts. He accompanied the late earl of Pomfret in his travels, and in Italy became acquainted with Mr. Berkeley, as he did at Paris with Mr. Secker. He was, from his youth to his latest age, the delight of all who knew him. His manner and behaviour were the result of great

natural humanity; polished by a thorough knowledge of the world, and the most perfect good breeding, mixed with a dignity which, on occasions that called for it, no one more properly supported. It was much against his will that he was appointed bishop of Gloucester, and from that see he would never remove. He was, however, a vigilant aud active prelate. He revived the very useful institution of Rural Deans,—he augmented several livings,—he beautified the church, and greatly improved the palace."

In contemplating the departure of Benson, who so quickly followed Butler to the tomb, we are reminded that Secker, who may be regarded as the last thread of the triple cord into which friendship had blended them, survived many years, and had arrived at old age before he was "gathered with his fathers." Upon the death of Archbishop Hutton, in April, 1758, he was elevated to the metropolitan see of Canterbury; which, until his own decease, in July, 1768, he filled with honour to himself, and advantage to the church over which he was called to preside.

Commended, as the three friends were in early life, by the same individual to the same patron, it is not a little remarkable that they should all have arrived at the episcopal bench, and should all have adorned their high station. Thirty-two years had elapsed since Edward Talbot, on his death-bed, bespoke for them his father's regard.

That prelate acted upon the wishes of his son, and gave them preferment in his diocese. Their conduct justified the favour shown them,—they conciliated general esteem,—they rose to distinction,—they exhibited a worthy example to their episcopal brethren,—they were "as lights set on a hill;" but, at length, the brightest light became dim, and the lesser light was extinguished, and Secker was left alone to mourn over each, and to say, "Alas, my brother*!"

But, while the piety and engaging qualities of Benson were justly appreciated by Butler and Secker, and greatly endeared him to all his friends; the mutual affection of the two latter was of a closer, and more decided, cast. No one can have attentively perused the foregoing *Memoir*, without being struck by the proofs which it affords, of the cordial attachment which uniformly subsisted between the bishops of Durham and Oxford. From the commencement of their acquaintance, at the dissenting academy at Tewkesbury, until the termination of Butler's career at Bath, they were ever desirous to promote each other's welfare. They shared each other's joys, they sympathized in each other's sorrows, and that which concerned the one was never a matter of indifference to the other. Secker displayed the interest he felt in the embryo powers of Butler's mind, by the part he undertook in the manage-

* 1 Kings, xiii. 30.

ment of the correspondence with Dr. Clarke. Butler showed an equal interest in Secker, by the terms in which he spoke of him to his college friend Edward Talbot, and by bringing the subject of conformity before him when he was at Paris; which led to his change of profession, and to his ultimate advancement in the Church of England. Secker extricated Butler from the difficulties into which he was about to plunge, by building without capital at Haughton,—procured his removal to Stanhope—and, when his celebrated writings were under preparation for the press, evinced his friendly feelings by endeavouring to array them in a more transparent garb. Butler returned these kind offices, by supplying Secker, in the invaluable matter to which his great mind gave birth, with inexhaustible topics upon which to descant, in his less deep, but more popular discourses.

Secker, again, alarmed at the impaired health and sinking spirits of Butler, while buried in the seclusion of Stanhope, effected his disinterment, and brought him back to the "busy haunts of men." Butler repaid him by tokens of the truest regard—considering his own residence at the deanery of St. Paul's, and at Hampstead, as the common home of both—and scarcely seeming to exist, when released from the calls of public duty or study, unless Secker was with him. In the closing scene of Butler's career, Secker showed

his anxious solicitude for the friend of his early years, by urging Benson to visit him, and by intreating his chaplain, Forster, to transmit to him daily intelligence of the progress of his illness. Butler, sinking under the pressure of disease, when his faculties were failing, betrayed the ardour of his affection for Secker, by mingling his image with his wandering thoughts, and by "perpetually talking about writing" to him, although he had nothing of a definite character to say*. Nor must it be forgotten, that the attachment of Secker did not expire with the death of his friend; but was proved, many years after his decease, when, at the advanced age of seventy-four, and in the last year of his own life, he stooped from the metropolitan chair, to write anonymously in the public journals of the day; that he might vindicate the revered name of Butler from the malevolent attacks of slander.

Of the affection of David and Jonathan, it is said, "The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul†." And, when death had divided them, the survivor is represented as exclaiming, "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant has thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women‡."

* See Forster's Letter of June 17.

† 1 Sam. xviii. 1. ‡ 2 Sam. i. 26.

CHAPTER XII.

Character and habits of Secker.—Promoted deserving clergymen.—Opposed the errors of popery.—Cultivated a friendly understanding with Dissenters. — Supported Protestant cause abroad.—His political conduct.—Personal appearance.—Mental qualities.—Studies and works.—His piety.—The peculiar circumstances attending his death.—His liberality.—Letters to Dr. Doddridge.

It would be ungrateful to the memory of one who was, in so especial a manner, THE FRIEND OF BUTLER, not to introduce in this place, a brief sketch of the character of the upright and distinguished primate, Archbishop Secker; and this cannot, perhaps, be done better than by bringing together, in a connected form, some of the notices of him which will be found scattered throughout his *Memoir*, by his former chaplain, the excellent Bishop Porteus.

"Men of worth and eminence in the church," remarks his biographer, "he cherished and befriended, and endeavoured to bring them forward into stations where they might be singularly useful. Above all, he distinguished, with peculiar marks of his favour, the conscientious and diligent parish priest. He was of opinion, that 'the main support of piety and morals consisted in the parochial labours of the clergy; and that, if this country could be preserved from utter profligate-

ness and ruin, it must be by their means*.' He took all fit opportunities of combating the errors of the Church of Rome, in his own writings: and the best answers, which were published to some of the late bold apologies for popery, were written at his instance, and under his direction. With the Dissenters, his grace was sincerely desirous of cultivating a good understanding. Though firmly attached to the Church of England, and ready on all proper occasions to defend its discipline and doctrines with becoming spirit; yet, it never inspired him with any desire to oppress or aggrieve those of a different way of thinking, or to depart from the principles of religious liberty, by which he constantly regulated his own conduct, and wished that all others would regulate theirs. Nor was his concern for the Protestant cause confined to his own country. He was well known as the great patron and protector of it in various parts of Europe; from whence he had frequent applications for assistance, which never failed of being favourably received. To several foreign Protestants he allowed pensions; to others he gave occasional relief; and to some of their Universities was an annual benefactor.

" He kept equally clear from the two extremes of factious petulance and servile dependence; never wantonly thwarting administration, from motives of party zeal, or private pique, or personal

* Vide *First Charge to the Diocese of Canterbury.*—P. 226.

attachment, or a passion for popularity; nor yet going every length with every minister, from views of interest or ambition. He admired and loved the constitution of his country, and wished to preserve it unaltered and unimpaired. So long as a due regard to this was maintained, he thought it his duty to support the measures of government; but whenever they were evidently inconsistent with the public welfare, he opposed them with freedom and firmness.

"His countenance was open, ingenuous, and expressive of every thing right. It varied easily with his spirits, and his feelings; so as to be a faithful interpreter of his mind, which was incapable of the least dissimulation. It could speak dejection, and on occasion, anger, very strongly. But when it meant to show pleasure or approbation, it softened into the most gracious smile, and diffused over all his features the most benevolent and reviving complacency that can be imagined. His intellectual abilities were of a much higher class than they who never had any opportunities of conversing intimately with him, and who form their opinion of his talents from the general plainness of his language only, will, perhaps, be willing to allow. He had a quick apprehension, a clear discernment, a sound judgment, a retentive memory. He possessed that native good sense, which is the grand master-key to every art and science, and makes a man skilful

in things he has never learnt, as soon as ever it becomes useful or necessary for him to know them. He composed with great ease and readiness; and in the early part of his life, the letters which he wrote to some of his most intimate friends, were full of imagination, vivacity, and elegance. But when he became a parish priest, he found the graces of style inconsistent with the purposes of pastoral instruction; and willingly sacrificed the reputation he might easily have acquired as a fine writer, to the less showy qualifications of a useful one.

"His learning was very extensive, and, on those points which he studied with any degree of attention, profound. In Hebrew literature more especially, his skill was so well known and acknowledged, that few works of eminence in that branch of learning were published, without being first submitted to his examination, and receiving considerable improvement from his corrections. The greatest part of his leisure hours was employed in studying the original text of the sacred writings: in comparing it with all the antient versions; in collecting together the remarks made upon it by the most ingenious and learned authors, ancient and modern, Jewish and Christian; in applying to the same purpose every thing he accidentally met with in the course of his reading, that had any tendency to explain and illustrate it; and superadding to the whole, his own observations and

conjectures, some of which have been since confirmed by the best manuscripts. The number of valuable writings which he has left behind him is very considerable. Besides the two volumes of occasional sermons which appeared in his life-time, the lectures on the catechism, and the charges published since his death, and the four volumes of sermons now offered to the public, he has bequeathed to the manuscript library at Lambeth, a great variety of learned and curious pieces, written by himself, to be preserved there under the sole care of the archbishop for the time being, and to be inspected by no one, without his grace's express permission.

"Amongst these manuscripts, some of the most remarkable are, an interleaved English Bible, in four volumes folio, with occasional remarks; upon the New Testament, very copious; tending chiefly to clear up difficulties, and to correct and improve the present translation, with a view probably to a new one; Michaelis's Hebrew Bible, filled with comparisons of the ancient versions, emendations, and conjectures on the original text; two folio volumes of notes upon Daniel; a great number of critical dissertations on controverted passages of Scripture; remarks on some modern publications; and several volumes of miscellanies, written in the former part of his life, containing chiefly extracts from various authors, and observations upon them, the objections of sceptical writers to the truth of

revelation, with answers to some, and materials or hints for answers to many others.

"It was remarkable that he chose always rather to talk of things than persons; was very sparing in giving his opinion of characters, and very candid when he did. Of his own good deeds, or great attainments, he never spoke, nor loved to hear others speak. Compliments were very irksome to him. They visibly put him out of humour, and gave him actual pain: and he would sometimes express his dislike of them in such plain terms, as effectually prevented a repetition of them from the same person. In him appeared all the efficacy of religious principle, the calmness, the greatness of mind, the fortitude, the cheerfulness, which no other principle could inspire, support, and improve, through a whole life. That fervent yet rational piety, which glowed in his writings, which animated his devotions, was the genuine effusion of his soul, the supreme guide and director of his actions and designs. It was not, as is sometimes the case, assumed occasionally, and laid aside when the eye of the world was not upon him; but was the same in private as in public, to those who observed him at a distance, and those who lived and conversed intimately with him, who had opportunities of seeing him at all hours, and under all circumstances, in his retired and serious as well as in his freest and most cheerful moments. The honour of God and the

interests of religion, were evidently nearest his heart. He thought of them, he talked of them, he was concerned and anxious for them, he sought out for opportunities of advancing them, he was careful not to say or do anything that might hurt them in the estimation of mankind.

" On Saturday, the 30th of July, 1768, he was seized, as he sat at dinner, with a sickness at his stomach. He recovered himself before night, but the next evening, whilst his physicians were attending, and his servants raising him on his couch, he suddenly cried out that his thigh-bone was broken. The shock was so violent, that the servants perceived the couch to shake under him, and the pain so acute and unexpected, that it overcame the firmness he so remarkably possessed. He lay for some time in great agonies, but when the surgeons arrived, and discovered with certainty that the bone was broken, he was perfectly resigned, and never afterwards asked a question about the event. A fever soon ensued. On Tuesday he became lethargic, and continued so till about five o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, when he expired with great calmness, in the 75th year of his age. On examination, the thigh-bone was found to be carious about four inches in length, and at nearly the same distance from its head.

" His soul was generous beyond description. Even when his income was but moderate, and the

provision made for his family very slender, he lived hospitably, and gave liberally. On all proper occasions, his heart and his hand were so free, that he seemed not to have, as indeed he had not, the least regard for money. The ease and readiness with which he gave away the largest sums, plainly showed that long habit had rendered it quite natural and familiar to him, and that he saw nothing wonderful or extraordinary, in acts of generosity, which others could not observe without surprise. Yet his favours were not lavished away with undistinguished profusion. He took pains to find out the real merits and distresses of those who asked relief from him, and endeavoured, as far as he was able, to single out the virtuous and religious, as peculiar objects of his bounty. He thought it a material part of true benevolence, to have an eye not only to the removal of misery, but the encouragement of piety and good morals.

"Thus much," continues his biographer, "it has been judged requisite to lay before the world, in relation to Archbishop Secker; not with any view of exalting his character higher than it deserves, which is quite needless; but of making its real value more generally known, and of rescuing it from the misrepresentations of a few misinformed or malevolent men. To some, no doubt, the portrait here drawn of him will appear a very flattering one; but it will be much easier to call than to prove it such. Nothing has been advanced

but what is founded on the most authentic evidence, nor has any circumstance been designedly strained beyond the truth. And if his grace did really live and act in such a manner, that the most faithful delineation of his conduct must necessarily have the air of a panegyric, the fault is not in the copy, but in the original."

That Archbishop Secker was, as his biographer represents him to have been, desirous to cultivate a good understanding with the Dissenters; and also that compliments were irksome to him, and gave him pain, the following letter to Dr. Doddrige distinctly testifies.

"*Cuddesden, Sept.* 29, 1742.

"Sir,

"I return you many thanks for your favourable opinion, both of my sermon and its author, though expressed in a manner which you would have forborne if you had known me better; for plain men should be treated in a plain way. Let us all endeavour to do what good we can, and give those who seem to endeavour it faithfully, the comfort of knowing that we think they do; but never let us tempt one another to forget that we are unprofitable servants.

"I am in no danger of transgressing this rule, when I say, that I have read your works with great satisfaction, and, I hope, some benefit; and both rejoice and wonder that in the midst of your other occupations you continue able, as I pray God you

long may, to oblige your fellow Christians so often and so highly from the press. Indeed, it must and ought to be owned, in general, that the Dissenters have done excellently of late years in the service of Christianity: and I hope our common warfare will make us chiefly attentive to our common interest, and unite us in a closer alliance. I believe, on the best inquiry I can make, that what I have said in favour of our charity-schools is true; and you do very well to propagate a sense of religion amongst your own people, by the same method. I have read Dr. Watts's Essay on the subject, which fell into my hands but yesterday, with much pleasure, and a little surprise to see in how many points we have coincided: an evidence, I presume, that we are both in the right.

"I congratulate you heartily on the prospect you have of success in your hospital; and as I am very sensible of what peculiar advantage it would be to have one at Oxford, so I have not only taken all opportunities of expressing and inculcating my opinion, but should long before now have made some trial as to what could be done in the matter, if hopes had not been given me, that Dr. Radcliffe's trustees, when his library is finished, may employ some part of the residue of his money in this excellent work. You were much to blame in not letting me see you at Gloucester; and the bishop*, when he knows it, will be as sorry as I

* Benson.

am, that you passed by us in the manner you did. The time of my being in town and that of your coming thither I am afraid are different; but if any occasion should bring you near me, either there or here, I beg you will not think you need any introducer, for I am, with great esteem and regard,

Sir,

your very humble servant,

THO. OXFORD."

In another letter, to the same learned nonconformist divine, Secker alludes to the favourable opinion entertained by Dr. Doddridge of the Church of England: and, at the conclusion, makes a remark, which *recent circumstances* have shown to have savoured more of the Christian charity "which thinketh no evil," than of the prophetic foresight which can unveil future events.

"*St. James, Westminster, Feb.* 21, 1745.

"Reverend Sir,

"I thank you for your candid reception of my small remarks. Your favourable opinion of the Church of England gives me no surprise, but much pleasure. And as I agree with you heartily in wishing that such things as we think indifferent, and you cannot be brought to think lawful, were altered or left free, in such a manner as that we might all unite; so I have no reason to believe that any one of the bishops wishes otherwise; and

I know some that wish it strongly, whom I fear many of the Dissenters take to be of a different spirit: nor, perhaps, were the body of the clergy ever so well-disposed to it as now.

"But still, I see not the least prospect of it; for they who should be most concerned for it, are most of them too little so; and of others, few that have influence think it can be worth while, either to take any pains or spend any time about matters of this nature; and too many judge the continuance of a separation useful to their particular schemes. Amongst these last, *the enemies of religion* are apt to consider the Dissenters as their allies against the Established Church; but, as I hope they will never have cause to join in any designs against it, so I am fully persuaded *they will never think a combination with such persons justifiable, either in point of prudence or of conscience.*

"The bishop of Gloucester desires you to accept his thanks and compliments; and,

I am,
Reverend Sir,
your very humble servant,
THO. OXFORD."

CHAPTER XIII.

Bishop Berkeley, another friend of Butler, dies.—Anecdote of his thirst after knowledge.—His *Theory of Vision.*—*Principles of Human Knowledge.*—Arbuthnot's remark.—His *Minute Philosopher.*—*Siris.*—Interview with Malebranche.—His zeal for the spread of the Gospel.—Sails to the Bermudas.—Disappointed of government grant for his College.—Returns home.—Walpole's remark to bishop of London.—Bolingbroke of Berkeley.—Contrast between them.—Berkeley made bishop of Cloyne.—His attachment to his diocese.—Health declines.—Removes to Oxford, and dies there.—His philosophical theory.—Butler and Berkeley compared.

The tomb had not long closed over the remains of Butler and Benson, when another eminent prelate, Bishop Berkeley, died, with whom Secker, in common with his two departed friends, had long lived upon terms of cordial intimacy. This extraordinary man was educated at Kilkenny, at a school on the Ormond foundation, and sat on the form which Swift had not long left.

He entered at Trinity College, Dublin, on the 21st March, 1700, obtained a scholarship in 1702, and was admitted a fellow in 1707. Amongst some anecdotes of him at this period, of somewhat doubtful authority, it has been said, in illustration of his thirst after knowledge, that having witnessed a public execution, the contemplative stu-

dent felt an irresistible desire to experience the sensation of strangulation; and that, having arranged his measures for the experiment, he was left so long suspended by his assistant, as to have been nearly "sent to report the result of his physiological researches in the world of spirits*." An example of similar scientific daring terminated fatally to the younger Berthollet, a distinguished chymist, who enclosed himself in an atmosphere of carbonic acid, in order to ascertain the effects it would produce upon his system. For some time he continued to register his sensations, which appear to have been of the narcotic order,—at length came a pause, and a word illegibly written, —the pen then fell from the hand that held it, and he was no more!

In 1709, Bishop Berkeley published his *Theory of Vision*, in which he successfully pointed out the distinction between the impressions which arise from the outward senses, and the conclusions at which we habitually arrive from our inward sensations. He argued, that if the faculty of sight were suddenly obtained by a person who was born blind, he would be able to distinguish neither the form, magnitude, position, nor distance, of the objects he looked upon. He would only, he asserted, be conscious of new modifications in his own mind, until he could unite the sense of *touch* to that of *sight*, and thereby establish a positive

* Vide *Berkeley, Dublin University Magazine.*

communication with that which was external to himself.

This theory, which had long been regarded as a visionary dream, was at length confirmed, by the celebrated case of the young man who obtained his sight after having been born blind, as recorded in *Cheselden's Anatomy*.

The following year issued from the press his work entitled *Principles of Human Knowledge*; in which he laboured to prove the non-existence of matter; and sought to show, that the qualities usually attributed to matter only exist in the mind, and are merely the result of our sensations. "When I deny sensible things an existence out of the mind," says Berkeley, "I do not mean *my* mind in particular, but *all* minds. Now it is plain they have an existence exterior to my mind, since I find them by experience to be independent of it. There is, therefore, some other mind wherein they exist during the intervals between the times of my perceiving them; as likewise they did before my birth, and would also after my annihilation. And as the same is true with regard to all other finite created spirits, it necessarily follows there is an omnipotent eternal Mind, which knows and comprehends all things, and exhibits them to our view in such a manner, and according to such rules, as he himself hath ordained, and which are by us termed 'the laws of nature.'"

Dr. Arbuthnot, who attended him during a

violent attack of fever, playfully alluded to his theory of ideas, when, speaking of his recovery to Swift, he remarked, "Poor Philosopher Berkeley has now *the idea of health*, which was very hard to produce in him; for he had an *idea of a strange fever* on him so strong, that it was very hard to destroy it by introducing a contrary one."

Besides his various metaphysical and other works, Bishop Berkeley printed Three Sermons on passive obedience,—wrote several papers in the *Guardian* against the prevailing errors of infidelity,—and in 1732, published his *Minute Philosopher*. This work, which was a vindication of Christianity against Atheism and Fatalism, was composed during his residence in America, and exceedingly pleased the queen, into whose hands it was placed by Dr. Sherlock. Having suffered severely from nervous colic, and deriving great benefit from the use of tar-water, his benevolent disposition prompted him to publish, under the name of *Siris, a chain of Philosophical Reflections and Inquiries concerning the virtues of Tar-Water.* Upon this production he employed unusual care and labour, and enriched it with much learned research and profound speculation. The apparent incongruity between its title and contents did not escape the notice of some of the literary censors of the day; which led Dr. Wharton to remark,—"Many a vulgar critic has sneered at Berkeley's *Siris*, for beginning at tar-water, and

ending with the Trinity; incapable of observing the great art with which the transitions in that book are finely made, where each paragraph depends upon and arises out of the preceding, and gradually and interceptibly leads on the reader from common objects to more remote,—from matter to spirit,—from earth to heaven."

While travelling in France, with the son of his college tutor, the bishop of Clogher, the interview took place between Berkeley and the French metaphysician Malebranche, which terminated so fatally to the latter. The scene is thus related, in an able and elaborate article upon Berkeley, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, for April 1836:—"It was during his passage through Paris, in the prosecution of his present tour, that he had that conference with the sagacious, yet visionary philosopher of France, to which we have more than once alluded. To express ourselves in the technical notation of their respective systems, Malebranche had the pleasure of beholding *the idea* of Berkeley *in* the Divinity, and Berkeley was presented *by* the Divinity with *the idea* of Malebranche. With notions so exalted beyond common conceptions, so alien to experimental investigation, and withal so closely resembling each other, we may reasonably expect a discussion as refined, as perplexing, and as vexatious, as any in the whole annals of metaphysical colloquy. Malebranche would naturally look upon the idealism of his younger companion

as an unjustifiable and seditious mutiny against the authority of his own sublimated hypothesis; and Berkeley, educated in a sterner school of ratiocination, would feel pity that such powers of delicate investigation, and such hopeful tendencies to the philosophy of immaterialism, had been so sadly perverted. The old speculatist, too, might perhaps heave a bitter sigh, at the conviction of the vanity of all human efforts, when thus, in his last days, within three years of his eightieth winter, and at the close of a life devoted to the search after truth, he was liable to be challenged in his own cell (for such it literally was) by a new candidate for fame; and from those premises which he and his young antagonist alike recognised as certain, to see deductions drawn by an irrefragable logic, which tacitly set aside the grand and ultimate result of his long labours. 'He found,' says our authority*, 'this ingenious father in his cell, cooking, in a small pipkin, a medicine for a disorder with which he was then troubled, an inflammation of the lungs. The conversation naturally turned on our author's system, of which the other had received some knowledge, from a translation just published. But the issue of this debate proved tragical to poor Malebranche. In the heat of disputation, he raised his voice so high, and gave way so freely to the natural impetuosity of a man of parts, and a Frenchman, that he

* Life prefixed to the collected works.

brought on himself a violent increase of his disorder, which carried him off a few days after.'"

His zeal for the propagation of the Gospel led Berkeley to form a project for the introduction of Christianity amongst the Native Americans. With this view, he obtained the promise of a parliamentary grant of 20,000*l.*, for the establishment of a college at the Bermudas; and to this sum, through his personal exertions, were added several private contributions. When Queen Caroline, hearing of the purpose he had formed, of giving himself up in the true spirit of a missionary to this work, offered him a bishopric at home, if he would not quit the shores of Great Britain, he is reported to have nobly replied,—"I would rather preside over the college of St. Paul, at the Bermudas, than be made primate of all England." For this appointment, with a stipend of only 100*l.* per annum, he was ready to resign the deanery of Derry, to which he had been recently preferred. Three fellows of Trinity College Dublin, moreover, who were his friends, with a self-denial worthy of the purest ages of the Christian church, were willing to accompany him, relinquishing their prospects at home for an appointment of 40*l.* a year in his projected college across the Atlantic. The names of these apostolic men were, King, Thomson, and Rogers. Berkeley, confiding in the promise of the stipulated grant, embarked for his point of destination, having

previously married the eldest daughter of the speaker of the Irish house of commons, the right honourable John Forster; and arriving at Rhode Island, he there awaited the completion of the necessary arrangements for the college. The expected grant of 20,000*l.*, however, did not reach him; and he was obliged, after a long delay, and with great reluctance, to abandon all hope of assistance, and return to England.

In reply to an inquiry from the bishop of London, in reference to the promised grant, Sir Robert Walpole thus expressed himself: "If you put this question to me as *a minister*, I must and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience; but if you ask me as *a friend*, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of 20,000*l.*, I advise him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations."

Having made a purchase of about one hundred acres of land, he presented this estate, on his quitting the country, to Yale and Harvard colleges: the income arising from which is still enjoyed by those institutions. It was in allusion to the mission of Berkeley to the Bermudas, that Lord Bolingbroke remarked, in a letter to Dean Swift, dated July 24, 1725, "I would not, by any means, lose the opportunity of knowing a man who can espouse in good earnest the opinion of father

Malebranche, and who is fond of going a missionary into the West Indies. My zeal for the propagation of the Gospel will hardly carry me so far; but my spleen against Europe has, more than once, made me think of buying the dominion of Bermudas, and spending the remainder of my days as far as possible from those people with whom I have passed the first and greatest part of my life. What say you? Will you leave your Hibernian flock to some other shepherd, and transplant yourself with me into the middle of the Atlantic Ocean? We will form a society more reasonable, and more useful, than that of Dr. Berkeley's College." The contrast is indeed striking, and as instructive as it is striking, between the *Christian philosopher*, Berkeley, who expatriated himself, through his zeal in the cause of God, and from his compassion to the souls of those who were wandering, in the Indian wilderness, 'as sheep without a shepherd,'—and the *Infidel philosopher*, Bolingbroke, who was ready to be driven, by disappointed ambition, from the busy world which he affected to despise, but to which he was in reality the slave, that he might seek in vain from solitude abroad, that peace of mind, which, amidst all the adulation and homage which wealth and rank, and talents could command, he was unable to secure at home.

In 1734, Dr. Berkeley was elevated to the see of Cloyne, and would never remove from his first

diocese. When Lord Chesterfield, the lord lieutenant, proposed his translation to the richer see of Clogher, he declined it, observing, "I love my neighbours, and they love me; why, then, should I begin, in my old days, to form new connexions, and tear myself from those friends whose kindness to me is the greatest happiness I enjoy?" That he might promote the interests of the manufacturers of his own diocese, he would appear in nothing but the produce of their looms, wearing "the coarse frieze which formed the acme of his poor people's skill*." And when he found it necessary, for the benefit of his health, to leave his diocese, he ordered the lands of his domain at Cloyne to be let, and the produce arising from them, amounting to 200*l.*, to be annually distributed amongst the poor of Cloyne, Youghal, and Aghadda, until he should again return to reside amongst them.

Upon his strength becoming decidedly impaired, in 1751, he was desirous either to resign his bishopric, or to exchange it for a stall at Oxford, where his son had just obtained a studentship at Christ Church; but when his wish was made known to the king, his majesty remarked, that "Dr. Berkeley should die a bishop in spite of himself." Having, however, obtained permission to select his own place of abode, he removed to

* Vide note to the article on Berkeley, in the *Dublin University Magazine.*

Oxford, where he shortly afterwards terminated his earthly career.

The circumstances of his death are somewhat differently related. One account states, that he died suddenly on the evening of Sunday, Jan. 14, 1753, while listening to a discourse of Dr. Sherlock's. Another, that, in accordance with his usual custom, he was conducting his family worship, in the midst of his domestic circle—that the portion of Scripture which he had selected for exposition, was 1 Cor. xv.—and that he had scarcely concluded his comments upon it, when he was seized with an attack of paralysis at the heart, and immediately expired.

The frank and conciliating address of Bishop Berkeley, attracted the esteem of all who approached him. He was peculiarly free from the narrow spirit of party, and was equally at home with Addison and Steele, as with Atterbury and Swift. Pope regarded him with feelings of high admiration, as the terms he employed to represent his character, in the well-known couplet upon this accomplished prelate and his friend Benson, testify:

> Candour with manners are to Benson given,
> To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.

Like Bishop Butler, Berkeley was not to be allured by the easy liberalism of the age in which he lived, to descend from the high ground of uncompromising piety; and like him, notwithstand-

ing the snares of pre-eminent talents, general applause, and the unfavourable soil which a court presents for the growth of real religion, he maintained a consistent career; and was not ashamed, in "a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and of blasphemy*," to confess the DIVINE MASTER, whose servant he was.

Of the philosophical theory of this highly gifted and disinterested prelate, and of his lucid style of exhibiting it, it is due to his memory, to listen to a writer, who regards his system with a more favourable eye than has usually been directed to its contemplation. The learned author of the article before alluded to, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, (the Rev. W. Archer Butler, Professor of Moral Philosophy in that University,) thus speaks of his illustrious countryman:—"The very nature and aim of his philosophy obliged him to force his way to the profoundest recesses of the soul, and to venture matching his powers against the obscurest mysteries of our being. At once comprehensive and acute, his intellectual vision embraced in its range the widest field, and surveyed it with the minutest accuracy."

"We have no doubt that the clearness of style with which his views are stated, has the effect, with many, of diminishing their opinion of his profundity; they cannot conceive that the stream is deep, when they seem to see so easily to its

* 2 Kings xix. 3.

bottom." "But if Berkeley be clear in conveying his doctrine, the matter of the exposition will be found not the less to press upon the powers of the firmest intellect. There are diligent students of modern metaphysical literature, who are little disciplined for the difficulties of disquisition into which a thorough examination of his views would lead them. His characteristic system depends little on mere classification, little on the more obvious results of observation. It rests on a basis of intense self-contemplation, which, to be prosecuted to any purpose, must be prosecuted with extreme perseverance. It questions the conscious being on points the most ultimate in his nature,—points which, though they be but facts of consciousness, we hesitate not to say, there are many minds wholly unable to make the objects of reflection."

He goes on to observe, that the design of Berkeley "is not to *weaken* belief, but to *secure* it on an imperishable basis: to free the theory of the mind from that burden of sensual prejudices, which, (like the overgrowth of parasitical plants,) at once conceal the beautiful simplicity of the structure, and impair its stability." "He finds, as he thinks, his fellow-reasoners clogging their speculative flights with a weight of superfluous assumptions; and he tells them to detach the burden, that the wings of contemplation may soar unimpeded into the pure empyrean, and the soul

get nearer to the sun." "His ardent belief may have borne Bishop Berkeley too far; but it obliged him, in the very spirit of his daring argument, to insist upon points which cannot be too often and too energetically impressed; and even those who dissent from his final conclusion, will own that they never before obtained views so perspicuous, of the premises from which it is drawn."

"Accordingly, it is in the writings of Berkeley that we are to look for the first exposition of those acute and important reasonings which may be said, in these latter days, to have reduced the broad practical monitions of Lord Bacon to their metaphysical principles." "The clue which must be followed, if we will penetrate the mazes of hidden truth, is interwoven in the very texture of his philosophy; on every other system we may go astray in our pursuit of natural knowledge; it is almost impossible to go astray on his. Without affirming anything with regard to the absolute truth of his ultimate deductions, we do maintain that this *relative* merit—and what merit is more admirable? must at least be conceded to the philosophy of Berkeley. *The true logic of physics is the first conclusion from his system.*"

This distinguished metaphysician, the character of whose mind formed a striking contrast to that of his cotemporary and friend, Bishop Butler, was, like him, highly esteemed by Queen Caroline; and was often in attendance upon her majesty, as

has been stated, when the discussions were carried on in her presence, to which allusion was made in an earlier part of this *Memoir*. It is easy to imagine, that, when the ardent and enthusiastic Berkeley was brought into contact with the cool and argumentative Butler, it would lead to an interesting trial of intellectual strength, upon high points of metaphysical inquiry. Neither is it difficult to conceive, that the lively and ingenious bishop of Cloyne, who, at an early age, was conspicuous for his conversational powers, with the ready utterance so characteristic of his country, might have shone at this prototype of the modern *conversazione*, when the profound author of the *Analogy* would be contented to occupy a second place. But the growing influence of the writings of the latter, compared with that of the productions of the former, shows the ultimate triumph of solid practical principles, over metaphysical subtilties, and curious theoretical disquisitions. Berkeley was borne away, upon the wings of imagination, into the unmeasured regions of speculation. Butler cautiously felt his ground, examined every step he advanced, and secured each position he took up, as it were, with impregnable mounds and bulwarks.

Berkeley, by the novelty and boldness of his hypotheses, dazzled, bewildered, and alarmed his readers; and after drawing out in array against his system, many eminent opponents, among whom

were Baxter, Dr. Reid and Dr. Beattie, his speculations have passed into comparative oblivion. Butler, by the care which he applied in laying the foundation of his theory, and by the industry and skill with which he has carried up his superstructure, may be said to have erected a grand moral temple, which surprised and delighted the age which gave it birth, and which will remain the object of admiration and gratitude to successive generations.

CHAPTER XIV.

Forster's grief at Butler's death. — Warburton's letters to Balguy and Hurd upon ditto.—Forster appointed chaplain to Archbishop Herring.—His subsequent career, character, and death.—Forster as Bishop Butler's executor.—Needlessly alarmed at Thomas Butler.—Bishop Butler's will and codocil. — Administration affairs. — Butler's remark upon dying rich.—Portraits of him.—Supposed manuscript sermons. — One doubtful sermon. — Dr. Wordsworth's remark upon destruction of sermons.—Charge of deficiency in evangelical statement.—Reply to this charge.

AMONG the relatives and friends who mourned over the loss of the author of the *Analogy*, no individual was more deeply afflicted than his attached and faithful, but somewhat querulous, chaplain, Dr. Forster; whose letters to Secker exhibit the sincerity of his grief at the removal of his friend and patron.

Bishop Warburton, in a letter dated Prior Park, June 21, 1752, and addressed to the Reverend Thomas Balguy, thus notices the death of Butler, and the disappointment of Dr. Forster's prospects in consequence of it:

"Dear Sir,

"You have heard of the death of the poor bishop of Durham. The church could have spared some other prelates much better; and, in its pre-

sent condition, could but ill spare him; for his moral and serious sense of religion, (to say nothing of his intellectual endowments,) did honour to his station. His death is particularly unhappy for his chaplain, Dr. Forster. He is my friend, whom I much value, as one of great worth."—"He has not only seen his hopes drop through, when he was every thing but in the very possession of them, but has lost a patron who deserves the name of *friend;* which goes much harder in the separation than the other."

In a letter to Mr. Hurd, dated July 5, 1752, Bishop Warburton says, "Poor Forster, whom I have just received a letter from, is overwhelmed with desolation for the loss of his master, (Bishop Butler.) I quoted his case to our friend Balguy for his consolation. But you say, 'I will have no master;' which I confess is the best consolation of all."

Notwithstanding the apprehensions of Forster and his friends, that the death of Bishop Butler would seriously impede his professional advancement, the measures adopted by that prelate to testify the regard he entertained for him, and the confidence he reposed in him, were not without effect. In the same year which deprived him of his former patron, Dr. Forster, who had returned to Oxford, was appointed chaplain to Archbishop Herring. In 1754, he was promoted to a stall at Bristol, by the

Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and in the autumn of that year, to the living of Rochdale, in Lancashire. In May, 1755, he was made chaplain to the king. In 1757, he succeeded Dr. Terrick, as preacher of the Rolls. And on the 20th of October, of the same year, he died, aged forty-one; having, only a few weeks previously, in August, married Susan, the relict of John Balls, Esq., of Norwich. This lady afterwards became the wife of Philip Bedingfield, Esq., of Ditchingham, Norfolk, by whom she had issue.

Dr. Forster was born in February, 1717, and was the son of a clergyman in Devonshire, who was the lecturer of St. Andrews, Plymouth. In 1732, he was sent to Eton, and entered as an exhibitioner at Pembroke College, Oxford. In the following year, he obtained a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, and was elected a fellow of that society in 1739, when he entered into holy orders, and was ordained priest in 1741.

He was introduced to Bishop Butler by Secker, when Butler was bishop of Bristol; and was appointed his domestic chaplain upon his removal to Durham, in 1750. Amongst his various writings he published a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, November 5, 1746, when he was fellow of Corpus Christi, entitled, *Popery destructive of the Evidence of Christianity*. His Hebrew Bible without points was much esteemed. His most intimate friends and associates were, Dr.

Barton, Dr. Kennicott, Dean Tucker, Reverend Z. Rudge, author of the translation of the Psalms, Dr. Hayter, bishop of Norwich, Bishop Benson, and Bishop Warburbon; with the last of whom he maintained a literary correspondence. There are ten letters from Warburton to Forster, in the second volume of *Nichols's Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*. "His character in private life was that of much discernment, mildness, and benevolence. He showed his contempt of what was absurd, and his abhorrence of what was wicked, in a manner the most likely to produce a good effect on those whom he wished to convince or reform. By an uniform application to study, he acquired and deserved the character of most extensive general erudition, and great critical acumen; and arrived at a knowledge in the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, not exceeded by any man of his time*."

His remains are deposited in Bristol cathedral, under the same roof with those of Bishop Butler, and there is a Latin inscription on his tomb, written by his friend Dr. Hayter, bishop of Norwich.

The difficulties which Forster anticipated, if he should proceed to act as the executor of his patron, Bishop Butler, he did not entirely escape, although he formed a wrong estimate of Thomas Butler, the solicitor; the nephew to whom he

* Vide *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxvi. p. 537.

alludes, as professing to be "pleased with the care of his uncle's affairs being left in his hands," but from whom, he adds, he was "greatly apprehensive of danger, throughout the whole course of the affair." Forster took a morbid view of his own position; and because the bishop's eldest nephew was a lawyer, he imagined that he would not only avail himself of every technical difficulty for his own advantage, but would make use of his professional knowledge to impede and embarrass the unwilling executor.

Thomas Butler, however, was so far from inclined to litigation, as to have been remarkable for his efforts to avoid it upon every practicable occasion. It is related of him, by one who knew him well, that he would never, as a professional man, undertake a cause, unless he was fully convinced of the justice of the case of his client; and that a rival solicitor said of him, in allusion to his *unprofitable* habit of checking lawsuits, that "Thomas Butler would never gain his bread by his profession."

The bishop of Durham, after bequeathing various legacies to his friends, domestics, and public charities, left the residue of his property to be equally divided between his nephews and nieces, by consanguinity. The difficulty, therefore, with which Dr. Forster had to contend, was not one arising out of any desire on the part of the bishop's nephew to encumber his path, but simply

from the nature of the case itself, when various minors were concerned. The will and codocil are as follow:—

"I, Joseph Butler, bishop of Durham, mindful of my mortality, and hoping for the mercy of God unto eternal life through Jesus Christ, do make this my last will and testament, in manner following:—

"1. I order my house and ground at Hampstead, and all other real estate or estates, which I may die possessed of elsewhere, to be sold, and the money arising from such sale to be employed in the payment of all my lawful debts; and the remainder, if any, to be divided into equal shares, and distributed equally amongst all my nephews and nieces, by consanguinity.

"2. My personal estate, I intend to dispose of by a codicil to be annexed to this my will; and I appoint my worthy chaplain, Dr. Nathaniel Forster, to be sole executor of this my will, and codicil to be annexed, and doubt not that he will take the trouble of it at this my particular desire. This I sign, seal, publish, and declare to be my last will, in the presence of the subscribing witnesses, April 22, 1752.

Jo. DURESME.

Tho. Norwich.
Langhorn Warren.
Richard Gill."

"Codicil, *April* 25, 1752.

"1. To my sister Hall, and to my sister Butler, widow of my brother, I give one hundred pounds a piece.

"2. To each of the three sons of my late nephew, Thomas Cope, I give five hundred pounds; and to their mother twenty pounds per annum, during her widowhood.

"3. To my niece, Allright, daughter of my late sister Rigburg, I bequeath the interest of twelve hundred pounds, during her life, and the principal to her children, to be distributed to them equally after her death; unless she chooses to let them have any part of it during her life, and my executor consent to it.

"4. To Dr. Forster, my executor, I give the sum of two hundred pounds.

"5. I desire Mrs. Catherine Talbot, daughter of my ever-honoured friend, Mr. Edward Talbot, to accept of one hundred pounds, as a small testimony of my perfect respect for her father and herself.

"6. And in testimony of the like respect, I desire Mrs. Talbot, her mother, the lord bishop of Gloucester, and the lord bishop of Oxford, to accept of twenty guineas each of them, to buy themselves rings.

"7. To my servant, Isaac Fawcett, I give two hundred pounds, together with all my clothes and wearing linen.

"8. Whereas, my under-secretary, William Emm, is altogether unprovided for, and cannot now provide for himself in the plain way he might easily have done, had I not taken him into my family, I give to the said William Emm five hundred pounds.

"9. To my servants, Samuel Brooke and Launc^{t}. Westgarth, I give one hundred pounds a piece; and to my housekeeper, Herbert, fifty pounds.

"10. To Andrew, my coachman, I give forty pounds; to Phil., the postillion, John Woolly, the helper, Will, the under-butler, and Tom, the groom, I give twenty pounds a piece. But if any of my servants, above mentioned, leave my service, or are turned away before my death, I revoke and cancel his legacy.

"11. The residue of my estate, after these legacies are paid and discharged, I give to the governors of the infirmary at Newcastle, for the use of the infirmary, either for the fabrick, or relief of the sick, as they shall judge most proper, as far as five hundred pounds. And the residue after this, I give to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as far as five hundred pounds. And the residue after this, I desire may be divided into equal shares, and distributed equally amongst all my nephews and nieces, by consanguinity, and their children.

"Lastly, it is my positive and express will, that all my sermons, letters and papers, whatever,

which are in a deal box, locked, directed to Dr. Forster, and now standing in the little room within my library at Hampstead, be burnt without being read by any one, as soon as may be after my decease.

Jo. Duresme."

The will and codicil were proved, and letters of administration granted to Dr. Forster, July 8, 1752. By the advice of Archbishop Secker, an application was made to the Court of Chancery for instructions as to the division of the residue, after the funeral expenses, charges, and legacies had been paid. Upon the 23rd of November, 1753, the court decreed, that it should be left to Mr. Montague, one of the masters of chancery, to see who were the parties entitled to the surplus of the testator's personal estate. "And it was ordered, that the shares of such of them as were infants should be laid out for their respective benefit, in the purchase of three per cent. consolidated bank annuities, in the name of the accountant-general; and that the shares of such of them as were of age should be paid to them respectively."

Upon the 4th of May, 1759, the master reported, that the surplus to be divided amounted to 3622*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*, and that the share of each nephew and niece, and their children, was 205*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* When, however, the shares of the youngest minors

were paid, in 1771, they separately amounted to 368*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*

Upon the decease of Dr. Forster, letters of administration to the property of Bishop Butler, still unadministered, were granted to the bishop's nephew, Joseph Butler. The account was not finally closed in chancery, until May 9, 1796; when an order was made to pay over to the Rev. Joseph Butler, for distribution, the balance of 664*l.* 6*s.* old South-sea annuities, and 43*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* in money, which was accordingly done.

The opinion which the author of the *Analogy* entertained of the right use of ecclesiastical wealth, by its temporary possessor, may be collected from his general conduct; but it was strikingly illustrated by a remark which he one day made to his under-secretary, Mr. Emm :—"*I should feel ashamed of myself, if I could leave ten thousand pounds behind me.*"

The total amount of property which he really left, including legacies and residue, was, as near as a calculation can be made, 9355*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*

There are three portraits of Bishop Butler, known as originals. The last for which he sat, is that in the infirmary at Newcastle, painted by Taylor, at a period when his constitution was beginning to sink under the disease which terminated his useful career. It is thus described by the bishop of Exeter:

"It is, as Emm assured me, an excellent likeness

of him. The complexion livid, the figure stiff, and seemingly unnatural; but there is truth in this, and still more in the secret suffering which appears to the attentive observer in the countenance. Butler, when the portrait was taken, was, unconsciously perhaps, under the influence of the disease which soon afterwards proved fatal. In looking at his face, you will, I think, recognize in it the index of a mind capable of conceiving 'THE ANALOGY.' Be this as it may, you will, I am sure, revere the saint-like expression of benignity and meekness,—'Bonum virum facilè dixeris, magnum libenter.'" From this portrait, the print in the Oxford edition of Butler's Works, in 1820, was taken. There is also a fine copy of it in the hall at Oriel College, presented to the provost and fellows, by Robert Ingham, Esq., late fellow of Oriel, and M.P. for South Shields. The second of the three originals, was painted by Hudson, soon after Butler was made bishop of Bristol, for his nephew, the Rev. Joseph Butler; and is now at Kirby-house, the residence of his grandson, John Butler, Esq. The earliest portrait, from which the plate prefixed to this *Memoir* is copied, was taken by the then celebrated Vanderbank, in 1732, when Butler was only forty years of age, and was resident at Stanhope. This is also at Kirby-house, and possesses more intellectual vigour, as well as delicacy of expression, than will be found in either of the other portraits. It exhibits him

at the period when he was more especially directing the powers of his extraordinary mind, to the completion of his great work, *The Analogy*.

Notwithstanding the clause in the will of Bishop Butler, which ordered all his sermons, letters, and papers, which were in a certain box at Hampstead, to be destroyed by his executor, in a note, in Nicholls's *Anecdotes*, upon the Life of Dr. Forster, the writer remarks: — "We have reason to know that some MS. sermons of the bishop's are still in being." Upon an application to the son of the publisher of that work, however, in order, if possible, to trace the authority upon which the assertion rested, nothing satisfactory has been elicited. The MSS. in the possession of the bishop's family have been carefully examined, but out of a large mass of sermons, chiefly written by his nephews, there are none which can be confidently pronounced to have been composed by him. The only sermon, which excited a doubt in the mind of the Author of this *Memoir*, is one upon John iii. 8, the writing of which strongly resembles the early autograph of the bishop, and which has upon its first page the inscription, "Stan: on Whitsunday, 17–9." Between the figures 7 and 9 is another *indistinct* figure, which resembles either an 8 or a 3. But, assuming that this figure, which *indistinctly* appears, was intended for 3, this would bring it within the period of Butler's active career, when

he was in occasional residence at his favourite parish of Stanhope. Without venturing, however, to pronounce an opinion upon the genuineness of the discourse in question, it will be found appended to this work, when the judgment of those who peruse it may be exercised upon it. Nothing, under any circumstances, would justify an attempt to put forth, as the production of the author of the *Analogy*, that which could not be clearly shown to have proceeded from his pen; and this would be most especially reprehensible, after the care which he took to secure the destruction of such of his writings as he did not think proper to submit to the eye of the public.

The learned master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dr. Wordsworth, in a letter to Dr. Goddard, remarks, upon the destruction of Butler's sermons,—"It leaves one nothing to do but to feel an unavailing regret and surprise, that when he has given one volume of sermons to the world of *inestimable value*, he should have condemned to the flames other discourses, in his own estimate so like them, that he himself should have spoken of the two portions in the terms in which, as you remember, he has done in the printed preface."

Disappointment has been expressed, in other quarters, that Bishop Butler did not set forth the grand doctrines of the Gospel with more prominency, in his celebrated *Fifteen Sermons*. The

writer of the article upon Butler, in the *Lives of Illustrious Englishmen*, after speaking of these sermons in the strong language of applause already cited, (at page 59,) considers them "chargeable with one serious and capital deficiency; a deficiency of evangelical statement." "It would have been a task," he adds, "intirely worthy of his mighty intellect, to show how the deepest researches into the foundation of morals, and the structure and operations of the human mind, only tend to sustain and illustrate the divine philosophy of the Gospel."

In arriving at a sound judgment upon this point, it will be necessary to consider the circumstances under which the published discourses of Butler were written, and given to the world. That he took a correct and Scriptural view of the essential verities of our holy faith, may be clearly collected from his writings; in which he refers to the fall and corruption of man,—to the recovery of the sinner through the great atonement of Christ,—to the necessity of repentance, and faith, and the renovating, and sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit,—and to a consistent and obedient walk and conversation, as the only safe and satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of the Christian profession. That these great topics are not so prominently exhibited in the sermons alluded to, as many might desire them to have been, cannot be denied; while the fact, as some

are doubtless of opinion, has arisen from the very *nature of the subjects* which are here discussed.

It may be observed, that the temper of the times in which Butler lived, was unfavourable to a warm exhibition of Scriptural truth; while the learned auditory he addressed at the Rolls, although capable of following a deep chain of reasoning, might, in an age teeming with erroneous ethical views, have resembled those of whom St. Paul speaks, as having "need of milk, and not of strong meat*." The topics sometimes selected, therefore, and which he doubtless considered to be such as the habits and pursuits of his audience required, were distinct portions of moral truth; which he pursued to their abstract principles, and traced throughout their secret windings, in a manner at once profound and original, convincing and conclusive.

And when we bear in mind the monstrous principles which were advanced, by infidel writers, as forming the moral code, (to say nothing of the frightful impieties with which "they blaspheined the God of Heaven,") it cannot be deemed irrelevant that a watchful pastor should guard his flock against errors like these, and "show unto them a more excellent way." Not to allude to the licentious doctrines of Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, and other continental writers; let it be remembered, how Lord Herbert

* Heb. v. 12.

of Cherbury taught, that the indulgence of anger or lust, is no more to be censured than the thirst which arises from dropsy, or the drowsiness which attends upon lethargy! That Hobbes of Malmesbury, maintained, that the civil law is the only foundation of right and wrong; and that, in the absence of this, the judgment of every individual is the sole basis of morals! That Lord Shaftesbury inculcated, that, a belief in future rewards and punishments was destructive of virtuous motives; and that, the only warrant for religious institutions is the authority of the magistrate! That, Lord Bolingbroke asserted, that, all morality may be resolved into self-love,—that ambition, avarice, and sensuality may be *lawfully* indulged, if they can be *safely* indulged,—that, the foundation of modesty is vanity, and that modesty itself is the result of a prejudice,—that, the chief end of human existence is to gratify the sensual inclinations and appetites! And that Hume afterwards maintained, that, self-denial and humility are not virtues, but are mischievous,—that they sour the temper and harden the heart!

These, and other doctrines, if possible yet more licentious than these, had so encumbered the prevailing theory of morals, in the days of Bishop Butler, with wretched sophistries and absurdities, as to make it resemble *a perplexed and entangled web.* Butler applied his patient hand to unravel this web,—he penetrated all its folds,—he

disencumbered its entanglements,—and restored, and laid open for future use, a mass of invaluable materials, upon which the most eminent professors, of the British and American universities, are now employed, for the benefit of the present and future generations.

Whether, if the discourses of Butler were less like what they are, they would have been so extensively recognized as the clue to the true theory of morals, may, perhaps, admit of a question. And if they were not as extensively recognized, they could not have been so extensively useful.

During his residence at Stanhope, Bishop Butler was called upon to adapt his pulpit addresses to a rural congregation; and what might then have been his mode of appeal to his flock, as he has left no authentic record of his discourses at this place, it would not be easy to determine. If the doubtful sermon, however, which is appended to this volume be assumed as genuine, and considered as a specimen of his usual mode of preaching at Stanhope, it will go far to establish the conclusion, that the charge of "deficiency in evangelical statement," has been advanced upon an imperfect view of the case; and, that a more extensive acquaintance with the discourses of Bishop Butler, would have placed him before us in another light than the profound, the discriminating, the successful Elucidator of the true Theory of Morals.

But, should it be objected, as it justly may, in allusion to his former pastoral charge, that from no auditory, of whatever rank, or attainments, or character, ought the leading truths of the Gospel to be withheld; it may be replied, that, as only fifteen sermons have been preserved, out of his pulpit addresses during a ministration of upwards of eight years, there is no evidence to show that Butler did not give those high and momentous topics their due prominency, in his more general discourses. And if it shall be said, as a rejoinder to this observation, that, since the author himself speaks of the greater part of the *Fifteen Sermons* as selected without any particular reason, they may, therefore, be regarded as a fair specimen of his ordinary manner; it may be again replied, that a divine, who, on account of his desire to promote a more devout attention to the external duties of religion, was, by one party, charged with superstition; while, on account of two of these very sermons, upon the love of God, he was, by another party, represented as an enthusiast; cannot readily be supposed to have forgotten the apostolic precept, "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth*."

Nor can it, moreover, be easily imagined, that one, who, not only by his admirable dis-

* 2 Tim. ii. 15.

courses upon the subject, but, by the uniform consecration of his talents and strength to the service of true religion, *proved* his deep and reverential love to God, would habitually withhold, from the flock entrusted to his charge, the full exhibition of the doctrines and duties, the admonitions and warnings, the promises, consolations and encouragements, which arise out of the glorious and marvellous fact, that "God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us*!"

There is a class of divines who so generalize every subject, that, whatever may be the thesis upon which they profess to treat, they commonly run very much into the same, or similar, arguments. This was not, however, the habit of Butler. The times in which he wrote required him to look below the surface of things,—to revert to first principles,—and to lay bare, as it were, the broad and immoveable foundations upon which the moral and social edifice was based. To clear away the "wood, hay, and stubble," with which selfishness and ignorance and infidelity had obscured these foundations, was the task he undertook; and it required a giant arm to accomplish the enterprize. Hence, in his *Fifteen Sermons*, he has exploded the unworthy and unscriptural doctrine of *human expediency*, by establishing *the supremacy of conscience*, in its reference to all the

* Rom. v. 8.

bearings of the great command, the love of God and of our neighbour; while, in his other immortal work, he has dismantled the strongholds of infidelity, by demonstrating the *analogy* of that which we see, and feel, and taste, and handle, to those higher mysteries which are revealed, in the inspired volume, as the *invisible* objects upon which the faith of the believer must be exercised.

It is natural to desire, that a splendid scene should be delineated by the pencil of a distinguished master. It is natural to wish, that a noble subject should be adorned by the genius of an acknowledged poet. And it is natural to regret, that the wondrous theme of the redemption of a lost world, in comparison with which all other themes are insignificant, should not have been more fully expounded, and illustrated, by the master mind and genius of Butler. But, perhaps, the predominant feeling ought rather to be that of devout gratitude to Him, who, when the "enemy was coming in like a flood," sent forth Butler to "lift up a standard against him," and enabled him so effectually to accomplish that which no other pen had attempted;—than of disappointment and regret, that so few traces of his labours survive on a theme, which, while it would baffle the power of angels fully to develope, is yet mercifully brought down to the grasp of ordinary minds; and upon which so many inferior pens have profitably and successfully dilated. For, as

remarks the Apostle of the Gentiles, "There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God, which worketh all in all*."

* 1 Cor. xii. 4. 6.

CHAPTER XV.

Letter to Dr. Hare attributed to Butler.—The authority for this doubtful.—Herne's *Philanagnostes Criticus*.—The question examined.—The Bangorian Controversy.—Hoadley's Sermon on the Nature of Christ's kingdom.—Hare's visitation sermon.—Hare's tract.—*Letter of Thanks*.—Probable evidence why not Butler's.—Church authority.—Church in danger—Prophetical texts.—Butler on kingdom of Christ.—*Letter* on Millennium.—Remark on Bangorian controversy.—Butler's opinion of Millennium uncertain.—His view of restoration of Jews. — Bishop Burgess of MS. memoir of Butler.—Dean of Salisbury's letter on ditto.—Butler's correspondence with Mr. Vassal.—Remarks upon Butler, in Oxford edition of his works.

HAVING alluded to a doubtful production of Bishop Butler's, in the former Chapter, it may be proper to observe, that, beside the works which have been published with his name, there is a pamphlet attributed to him, intitled *A Letter of Thanks from a young Clergyman, to the Rev. Dr. Hare, Dean of Worcester, for his Visitation Sermon, at Putney*. To this is appended as a motto,

> Mutemus Clypeos, Danaumq. insignia nobis
> Aptemus: Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?
>
> *Virg.*

The authority, however, for ascribing this letter to Butler, may fairly be questioned; while there is perhaps stronger evidence, in the work itself, to show that it was not his, than to confirm the supposition that it proceeded from his pen.

In 1719, a pamphlet was published by the Rev. Thomas Herne, intitled, *Philanagnostes Criticus*, containing a catalogue of the works which had appeared upon the Bangorian controversy. In the following year he published another catalogue, termed, *A Continuation of an Account of all the considerable Pamphlets that have been published, on either side, in the Bangorian Controversy, to the end of the year* 1719, *with occasional Observations. By Thomas Herne, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.* A copy of this tract having been given to the Rev. John Hoadley, by Dr. Flexman of Rotherhithe, it was reprinted by him, when, after his father's decease, in 1761, he published a complete edition of his works, in three volumes, folio. In the tract thus reprinted, is the following passage:—

"A letter of thanks, from a young clergyman to the Rev. Dr. Hare, for his visitation sermon at Putney. [Joseph Butler, preacher at the Rolls, since LL.D., rector of Stanhope, dean of St. Paul's, and bishop of Bristol and Durham.]

Mutemus Clypeos, &c.

"The author personates that young clergyman to whom the dean some few years ago is supposed to have addressed *The Difficulties and Discouragements.* He is said to be a person who has favoured the world with several of the best *Freethinkers*, as that on optic glasses, &c."

As Mr. Herne died in 1727, before Dr. Butler

was elevated to the episcopal bench, it could not have been he, who, in these terms, ascribed this *Letter* to the bishop; and indeed, it has been ascertained, that, in a copy of Herne's *Continuation*, in the British Museum, Butler is *not* mentioned as the writer of the *Letter* to Dr. Hare. It is simply stated, at p. 18, that "The author personates that young clergyman," &c.; *without any allusion whatever to Bishop Butler;* and therefore, the probability is, that the words within the brackets were either added by Dr. Flexman, or by John Hoadley himself. It is moreover to be observed, that it is not asserted that *Butler* wrote the papers on optic glasses, but only that *the writer of the Letter* was *said to be* the person who wrote them. It is very possible, too, that the statement, that Butler wrote the *Letter of Thanks*, may have rested upon evidence quite distinct from that which relates to the author of the papers in the *Freethinker*. As the external proof, however, that this *Letter* was the production of the author of the *Analogy*, must be considered inconclusive, it may be proper to inquire, whether any additional evidence is supplied, by the contents of the work itself, to determine the question: and, in doing this, it will be necessary to make a brief allusion to the circumstances out of which the *Letter* arose.

It was in the year 1717, that Dr. Hoadley, then Bishop of Bangor preached before the court, his sermon *On the Nature of the Kingdom or Church*

of Christ, which occasioned the Bangorian controversy. The object of the bishop was to show, that the kingdom of Christ was a spiritual kingdom; and that his church was intended by its Divine Founder, neither to be supported by political favour, nor impeded by political power. As this discourse referred to the main points upon which the high and low church party were at issue, it occasioned a controversy unparalleled, in its duration, as well as in the number of those who were engaged in it; and moreover, eventually led, in its consequences, to the suppression of the sittings of the houses of Convocation. Amongst many others, Dr. Hoadley was opposed by Archbishops Potter and Wake, Bishop Sherlock, Drs. Snape and Hare.

In the year 1719, two years after the publication of the discourse alluded to, Dr. Hare, on the 5th of May, preached a visitation sermon at Putney, termed *Church Authority vindicated;* to which Bishop Hoadley replied. Dr. Hare had previously published a tract, intitled, *The difficulties and discouragements which attend the study of the Scriptures in the way of Private Judgment, represented in a letter to a young Clergyman, by a Presbyter of the Church of England.* This letter was written in a keen spirit of irony; and there were those who affected not to understand him, but to suspect him of an intention to depreciate the value of Holy Scripture as the sole Protestant

rule of faith. His real motive, however, is made known in the conclusion, where he drops his ironical strain, and speaks in the language of seriousness and sincerity. At p. 32 he has the following remark: "'Twas a right to study and judge of the Scriptures for themselves, that our first reformers asserted with so good effect; and their successors can defend their adherence to them, on no other principle. If, then, we are concerned for the study of the Scriptures, further than in words; if we in earnest *think* them *the only rule of faith*; let us *act* as if we thought so: let us heartily encourage a free and impartial study of them; let us lay aside that malignant, arbitrary, persecuting, popish spirit; let us put no fetters on men's understandings, nor any other bounds to their enquiries, but what God and truth have set. Let us, if we would not give up the Protestant principle, *that the Scriptures are plain and clear in the necessary articles*, declare *nothing* to be *necessary*, but what is *clearly revealed* in them."

Upon the publication of the visitation sermon, the *Letter of Thanks*, which has been attributed to Bishop Butler, issued from the press. In this letter an ironical style is also adopted; and the writer playfully assumes, that Dr. Hare has put forth sentiments in that sermon, which, savouring more of the irony of his former publication than of its serious conclusion, could not in reality be

his own. He says, at page 7:—"The subject you have chosen is the *Vindication of Church Authority*, which you would seem to carry to as great a height as most writers who have appeared in the defence of it: but (as I shall plainly show) you in reality espouse the opinion of those among us, who would reduce it to the lowest standard." The point of inquiry therefore is, whether there are sufficient marks of internal evidence in this *Letter*, in the absence of external proof, to fix it upon Bishop Butler. The difficulty of forming a judgment upon the subject is considerably increased, by the adoption of a style which is no where to be found in his *acknowledged* writings. There are, however, certain features in the *Letter*, which, unless we suppose this prelate to have undergone a change of opinion upon several points in his latter years, would lead to a conclusion, that it did not proceed from his pen. Although there can be no doubt that the views of Bishop Butler, upon questions which did not involve the essentials of religion were moderate, and held in a true spirit of charity toward those who differed from him; yet it is not easy to conceive, that he would rank himself, as the passage cited and the context appear to imply, among those who would reduce church authority to the "lowest standard*." His remarks in the *Analogy*†, upon "*a visible church*," are opposed to this notion; while

* Vide extract. † Part ii. chap. 1.

there are various observations in his Durham charge, which betray his regret and alarm on account of the decay of church discipline, in reference to its bearing upon the edification of the people.

2dly. Toward the end of the *Letter* is another observation, which does not appear to harmonize with the sentiments of Butler on the subject. At page 35, the writer says,—"This is a severe rebuke to those who are ever maliciously foreboding imaginary dangers to the church, and insolently affronting his Majesty's royal cares for its support and welfare."

The apprehensions entertained by Bishop Butler, in reference to the general decay of religion in the nation, are expressed in the "Advertisement" to the *Analogy*, in the opening of his *Charge*, and in other parts of his writings; and that he was himself one of those who imagined the Established Church to be in imminent danger, is evident from the reply which he made when he was offered the primacy.

3dly. It may, perhaps, be supposed, that the similarity between a collection of prophetical texts, which appear in page 26 of the *Letter to Dr. Hare*, and a series of the same class, cited by Butler, in part ii. chap. 7. of his *Analogy*, may render it probable, that they were furnished by the same pen. And as the Author of this *Memoir* has been informed that there are learned individuals, whose

opinion is entitled to respect, who have thought that this apparent similarity *does* furnish internal evidence that Butler wrote the *Letter* alluded to, it may be proper to consider the subject with more attention than would otherwise be deemed necessary. There is, it is true, to a certain extent, a general resemblance between the two series of texts; but, a careful examination will show, that there is a special point of difference, which may lead to an opposite conclusion upon the question at issue. By a reference to the *Analogy*, it will be seen, that, while the reasoning of Butler applies *to the ultimate triumph, and permanent establishment of the kingdom of Christ, at the final restitution of all things*, the texts which he cites are those usually employed in support of that doctrine. A reference to the *Letter* to Dr. Hare, on the other hand, will show, that while the writer distinctly inculcates, *the notion of the personal reign of Christ with the saints on earth*, the texts adduced are those which Millenarians of that class are in the habit of quoting to illustrate their theory. The passage in the *Analogy*, and the Scriptural references, are as follow:—

"Revelation, indeed, considers the common affairs of this world, and what is going on in it, as a mere scene of distraction; and cannot be supposed to concern itself with foretelling, at what time Rome, or Babylon, or Greece, or any

particular place, should be the most conspicuous seat of that tyranny and dissoluteness, which all places equally aspire to be; cannot, I say, be supposed to give any account of this wild scene for its own sake. But it seems to contain some very general account of the chief governments of the world, as the general state of religion, has been, is, or shall be, affected by them; from the first transgression, and during the whole interval of the world's continuing in its present state, to a certain future period spoken of both in the Old and New Testament, very distinctly, and in great variety of expression:—'The times of the restitution of all things*:' When 'the mystery of God shall be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets†:' When 'the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people‡,' as it is represented to be during this apostacy, but 'judgment shall be given to the saints§,' and 'they shall reign||:' 'and the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most high¶.**'"

The passage in the *Letter* to Dr. Hare, and the Scriptural references, are also as follow: (p.26.)—

* The texts cited are, Acts iii. 21. † Rev. x. 7.
‡ Dan. ii. § Dan. vii. 22. || Rev. ¶ Dan. vii.
** *Analogy*, part ii. chap. 7, 1 ed. 4to., p. 259; 2 ed. 8vo., p. 379; Oxford ed. of 1807, p. 360.

"As to the future kingdom of Christ, the members of it not being openly declared, are invisible to us; and could they be known with the greatest certainty, yet since they are not already invested with that degree of glory that will be communicated to them, they could not, under the notion of members of this kingdom, claim any earthly dominion, *before the glorious reign of Christ shall commence, when they shall indeed reign with him upon the earth**."

The only text expressly cited both in the *Analogy* and in the *Letter* is, Dan. vii. 22, which may be adduced equally on either side. Dan. vii. 27, is expressly referred to in the *Letter*, and quoted, without a reference to the verse, in the *Analogy*; but this is a text directly connected with Butler's argument. The only expression, which the bishop has adopted, from a passage *supposed* to favour the view of the personal reign of Christ on earth, is one from Rev. xx. 6; but it is so separated from the context as entirely to avoid the supposed doctrine. In the text itself the clause runs, "and shall reign with him a thousand years." Butler cites only the words "*they shall reign*," which terms directly fall in with his allusion to the ultimate and permanent establishment of the kingdom of Christ.

* The texts quoted are, 2 Peter iii. 13. Isaiah xlv. 17. Rev. xxi. Rev. ii. 26, 27. Psalms ii. 8, 9. *Rev.* v. 10. Dan. vii. 10, 22, 27. Rev. xi. 15, &c. *Rev.* xx. 4.

It is a little remarkable however, that this expression is the only one for which there is not a direct reference made, either to the chapter, or both to the chapter and verse. There will not, it is believed, be found another example of this kind throughout the *Analogy*, where the reference is made only to the *book*, in which the expression is found, as *Rev.*, without the addition of either chapter or verse. It would almost appear, therefore, that Butler intended to *avoid* the suspicion of favouring the Millenarian construction of the passage, by the omission of a reference to it; while, both this circumstance, and the general tenor of his argument may show, that he used the terms "they shall reign," in a similar sense to Rev. i. 6, Rom. viii. 17, 2 Tim. ii. 12, and not in the sense in which the passage is cited by the writer of the *Letter to Dr. Hare*.

To avoid perplexity, to those who may feel inclined to pursue this inquiry, and refer for this purpose to modern editions of the *Analogy*, it is necessary to observe, that while, in some of these, the reference to the chapter and verse has been added, *in the original editions published during the life of the author*, the book, *(Rev.) only* is pointed at, without either the chapter or verse. From what has been adduced then, it may perhaps be fairly concluded, that, (as there is no allusion in the works of Butler to the personal reign of Christ on earth, to which the writer of the *Letter*

to Dr. Hare so distinctly refers,—for this and the other reasons stated,) the internal evidence of the *Letter* in question will weigh *against* the supposition of its having proceeded from the pen of the bishop of Durham.

Judging indeed, from the general tone of his writings, it is not unnatural to imagine, that the author of the *Analogy*, in reference to the Bangorian controversy, would be inclined to moderate between the contending parties, rather than to join the ranks of either. He would probably have agreed with a remark in Hughes's *Memoir of Bishop Sherlock*, that, "The former of these, or at least the greater part of them, upheld the doctrines of indefeisible hereditary right, unlimited non-resistance, and inherent ecclesiastical authority, to a degree which went to chain down man's free spirit, and render him at once the slave and instrument of tyranny; a majority of the latter, on the contrary, in their hatred for popery, and love of that blessed revolution which liberated us from its fetters, would have loosened the bands of church authority inconsistently with the safety of the Protestant establishment."

In the remarks which have been offered upon the *Letter* to Dr. Hare, the object of the writer has been simply to inquire, what are the claims of that letter to be considered as the production of Bishop Butler? Whether, with Justin Martyr in the second century,—with his cotemporary Bishop

Newton,—with Mede, Thomas Burnet, and Gill,—with Faber, Frere, Cunninghame, and other living writers, Bishop Butler would have interpreted "*the first resurrection*," and the "*reign with Christ a thousand years*," *literally*,—or whether, with Origen, and his pupil Dionysius of Alexandria, in the third century,—with Whitby, Witsius, President Edwards, Lowman, Guise, Hopkins, Fuller, Scott, Bogue, Gauntlett, and others, he would have regarded them as *figurative* expressions; intended to represent *the spiritual reign of the saints*, in a kingdom of peace, and knowledge, and holiness, and happiness,—is not the point for inquiry. Whether again, with Archdeacon Woodhouse, Doddridge, and a third party, Bishop Butler would have hesitated to speak, or to write, with confidence upon the subject,—or whether, with the undaunted reformer Wickliffe, with the learned Professor Lee, the late Reverend H. Gipps, and others, he would have regarded the Apocalypse as already fulfilled, in the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and Heathenism; and the Millennium consequently terminated, having commenced, as some have thought, in the reign of Constantine, when Pagan persecution ceased,—or whether the views he entertained were diverse from all these, it is not the design of these lengthened remarks to determine.

The sole question has been, whether the production thus attributed to Bishop Butler, *and*

which would commit him to the views of the first-named class of divines, upon the subject alluded to, can be, fairly and satisfactorily, traced to him as its author? And while the decision of the point will be left to the judgment of the reader, it is hoped that he will not regret having had his attention so long occupied by its discussion.

Without presuming, however, to pronounce, or even to speculate, upon the views entertained by the author of the *Analogy* concerning the Millennium, (a subject on which none of his acknowledged writings profess to treat,) *that he anticipated the restoration of the Jews, and their re-establishment in their own land*, may be clearly assumed, from his remarks upon the prophecies which speak of those events. He observes, in part ii. chap. 7, of his *Analogy*,—"Together with the moral system of the world, the Old Testament contains an account of God's making a covenant with a particular nation, that they should be his people, and he would be their God, in a peculiar sense; of his often interposing miraculously in their affairs; giving them the promise, and, long after, the possession, of a particular country; assuring them of the greatest national prosperity in it, if they would worship him, in opposition to the idols, which the rest of the world worshipped, and obey his commands; and threatening them with unexampled punishments, if they disobeyed him, and fell into the general idolatry: insomuch that

this one nation should continue to be the observation and the wonder of all the world. It declares particularly, that 'God would scatter them among all people, from one end of the earth unto the other:' but that 'when they should return unto the Lord their God, he would have compassion upon them, and gather them from all the nations, whither he had scattered them:' that 'Israel should be saved in the Lord, with an everlasting salvation; and not be ashamed or confounded world without end.' And as some of these promises are conditional, others are as absolute as any thing can be expressed: that the time should come, when 'the people should be all righteous, and inherit the land for ever:' that 'though God would make a full end of all nations whither he had scattered them, yet would he not make a full end of them:' that 'he would bring again the captivity of his people Israel, and plant them upon their land, and they should be no more pulled up out of their land:' that 'the seed of Israel should not cease from being a nation for ever.'"

"It foretels that God would raise them up a particular person, in whom all his promises should finally be fulfilled; the Messiah, who should be, in an high and eminent sense, their anointed Prince and Saviour. This was foretold in such a manner, as raised a general expectation of such a person in the nation, as appears from the New Testament, and is an acknowledged fact; an expect-

ation of his coming at such a particular time, before any one appeared claiming to be that person, and when there was no ground for such an expectation but from the prophecies: which expectation, therefore, must in all reason be presumed to be explanatory of those prophecies, if there were any doubt about their meaning. It seems moreover to foretel, that this person should be rejected by that nation, to whom he had been so long promised, and though he was so much desired by them. And it expressly foretels, that he should be the Saviour of the Gentiles; and even that the completion of the scheme, contained in this book, and then begun, and in its progress, should be somewhat so great, that, in comparison with it, the restoration of the Jews alone would be but of small account. '*It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be for salvation unto the end of the earth**.'"

Having enlarged upon these topics, he adds, —"And as several of these events seem, in some degree expressly, to have verified the prophetic history already; so likewise, they may be consi-

* Deut. xxviii. 64. Ibid. xxx. 2, 3. Isa. xlv. 17. Ch. lx. 21. Jer. xxx. 11. Ch. xlvi. 28. Amos. ix. 15. Jer. xxxi. 36. Is. viii. 14. 15. Ch. xlix. 5. Ch. liii. Mal. i. 10. 11. and Ch. iii. Isa. xlix. 6, &c.

dered further, as having a peculiar aspect towards the full completion of it; as affording some presumption that the whole of it shall, one time or other, be fulfilled. Thus, that the Jews have been so wonderfully preserved in their long and wide dispersion: which is, indeed, the direct fulfilling of some prophecies, but is now mentioned only as looking forward to somewhat yet to come: that natural religion came forth from Judea, and spread in the degree it has done over the world before lost in idolatry; which, together with some other things, have distinguished that very place in like manner, as the people of it are distinguished; that this great change of religion over the earth, was brought about under the profession and acknowledgment, that Jesus was the promised Messiah; *things of this kind naturally turn the thoughts of serious men towards the full completion of the prophetic history, concerning the final restoration of that people; concerning the establishment of the everlasting kingdom among them, the kingdom of the Messiah; and the future state of the world, under this sacred government.*"

When the library of Bishop Butler, at Hampstead, was sold, a considerable number of the books were purchased by his nephew, the Rev. Joseph Butler. These afterwards became the property of his son Robert, rector of Inkpen; and some of them were presented by him to St. David's College at Lampeter. With those so dis-

posed of, is a copy of the first quarto edition of the *Analogy*, given by the bishop to his nephew, with "Jos. Butler, ex dono Authoris," inscribed on the fly-leaf.

Among the papers of the widow of the Rev. Robert Butler, was found a note from the late bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burgess, to her husband, dated September 15, 1825, of which the following is a copy.

"*Aberguilly Palace.*

"Dear Sir,

"I owe you many apologies for having detained so long the paper containing an account of the chief incidents of your great ancestor's life, which you very kindly sent me many years ago. It was too carefully laid by, and not recovered till this morning, in examining my letters and papers previously to my leaving Aberguilly. I have had it copied, and it shall be returned, when I have the pleasure of hearing from you.

"The college, to which you liberally contributed in money and books, is at length nearly finished, and will be ready for the reception of students by the end of next year.

I am, dear Sir,
your obliged and faithful servant,
T. SARUM."

Inquiries were immediately made in the proper quarters, in the hope of recovering this manu-

script, but neither the original nor the copy has been found. The original was probably destroyed by the widow of this great-nephew of Bishop Butler, agreeably to his request, that his sermons and manuscripts, which were numerous, should be burned after his decease. The dean of Salisbury, who was so good as to communicate with his diocesan upon the subject, thus speaks of the result of the inquiry after the copy, in a letter to the writer of this *Memoir*.

"*Deanery, Salisbury, Dec.* 2, 1835.

"My dear Sir,

"I did not fail to mention the subject of your letter to our venerable bishop; but, as he seemed doubtful whether he could throw any light upon it, I thought it better to wait, and renew the conversation. His lordship perfectly recollects the paper referred to in the letter, which I return to you enclosed; but he has no distinct remembrance of the copy which he mentions as having been made for himself. The bishop inclines to think, that either the original, or his copy of the paper in question, may have been sent to St. David's College.

"I shall be very glad to hear that you have succeeded in recovering the paper referred to, as it must ever be a subject of regret that so little is known of the life of the incomparable author of the *Analogy*;—a work to which, in common with

multitudes, I owe, perhaps, more than to any other uninspired production.

I remain, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

H. PEARSON."

In consequence of the conjecture of the bishop of Salisbury, that he might have transmitted the lost paper to St. David's College, a letter was addressed to the Rev. Dr. Ollivant, vice-principal of the college, who immediately made the necessary search, but without success.

From some remarks, however, which Bishop Burgess subsequently made, in reference to the manuscript in question, it is supposed to have been both very brief and meagre of incident.

A hope was also entertained of discovering a correspondence, between Bishop Butler and a gentleman in Cornwall, upon the subject of slavery, but this hope has ended in disappointment. Nearly a century ago, a gentleman in that county, a Mr. Vassal, became possessed of a large property in Jamaica, but felt great doubts about the lawfulness of retaining a possession which was to be cultivated by slave labour. Oppressed with this feeling, he made the bishop acquainted with his scruples. A correspondence followed, which the son of the gentleman in question perfectly remembers to have met with, and read, among his father's papers. Upon making a search, however, for the purpose of recoveriug these letters,

they were not to be found. Whatever letters from the bishop, too, might have been in the possession of his nephew, Joseph Butler, were, together with his own sermons and MSS., destroyed by his wife, after his decease, at his particular and express injunction. This nephew, from his frequent intercourse with his uncle, was more likely, than any other relative, to have had literary relics of him worthy of preservation.

The remarks which are prefixed to the Oxford edition of Bishop Butler's works, printed at the Clarendon press, in 1807, show the estimation in which he is held by that university.—"The object of the following publication has been to give to the world, a complete edition of the works of that eminent prelate, Dr. Joseph Butler, which are too well-known to make any commendation of them on this occasion necessary, either for the noble examples which they furnish of sound reasoning, or for the service which has been done to the cause of natural and revealed religion by the arguments contained in them. The delegates of the Clarendon press, therefore, have thought it expedient to present the world with a new edition of the writings of this distinguished person; not only as he is ever to be ranked amongst the chief ornaments of the university of Oxford, but especially, because the treasures of knowledge to be found in them can never be too widely diffused."

"*Oxford, July* 6, 1807."

CHAPTER XVI.

Butler and Paley's Theory of Morals.—Sir J. Mackintosh upon Butler's style.—The correctness of Sir James's remarks questioned.—Diversity of opinion upon Butler's tyle.—Butler's theory of morals superseding Paley's.—Professor Whewell's testimony.—American Professor Alden's ditto.

VARIOUS testimonies to the veneration and gratitude due to Bishop Butler, as the great elucidator of the true theory of morals, as well as the unanswerable vindicator of our common Christianity against the assaults of infidelity, have been adduced in this *Memoir*, in the order of the writings to which they respectively relate. It will not, perhaps, be deemed irrelevant now, at the close of the *Memoir*, to notice the gradual triumph of the sound moral theory of Butler, over the erroneous moral theory of Paley.

When Sir James Mackintosh wrote his *Essays upon the Foundations of a more just Theory of Ethics*, the popularity of Paley was as its zenith. Many were conscious of his defects, but few possessed sufficient moral courage to enter their protest against the injurious tendency of some of his doctrines. His system, by almost universal consent, was permitted to reign in the schools; and while there were not wanting those who foresaw

the baneful influence which his principles would necessarily exert upon the public mind, the warning voice was not so loudly and distinctly raised, as to induce the student to reject the pleasing banquet which was placed before him, and to seek a more wholesome and a safer diet. The fact, that, at that period, the unscriptural system of Paley had many followers, and the Scriptural system of Butler comparatively few, is traced, by Sir James Mackintosh, to the want of transparency in Butler's style. "There are few circumstances," he says, (p. 4,) "more remarkable than the small number of Butler's followers in ethics; and it is, perhaps, still more observable, that his opinions were not so much rejected as overlooked. It is an instance of the importance of style. No thinker so great was ever so bad a writer. Indeed, the ingenious apologies which have been lately attempted for this defect, amount to no more than, that his power of thought was too much for his skill in language. How general must the reception have been of truths so certain and momentous as those contained in Butler's discourses; with how much more clearness must they have appeared to his own great understanding, if he had possessed the strength and distinctness with which Hobbes enforces odious falsehood, or the unspeakable charm of that transparent diction which clothed the unfruitful paradoxes of Berkeley."

Whatever justice there may be in the remark, that a more lucid style would have placed Butler's arguments with additional force before his readers, it may be questioned, whether Sir James Mackintosh himself has displayed his usual acuteness, when he surmises, that the obscurity of Butler's style prevented "his own great understanding" from taking a clearer view of the subjects with which he so successfully grappled. The mental process by which metaphysical truth is surveyed, by which its deeps are gauged, and its involutions are unravelled, differs so widely from that by which mere fluency of expression and clearness in the arrangement of sentences are produced, as to render it very possible for a man to have attained an exact perception of a truth in his own mind, which he cannot, with equal distinctness, place before the mind of another. But, the best answer to this observation of Sir James Mackintosh, will be found in the remarks of Bishop Butler himself, upon the imputation of obscurity of style, in the Preface to his *Fifteen Sermons*.

Great, indeed, has been the diversity of opinion upon the character of Butler's style. Some have lamented that it is so difficult to understand,—others have denied that it could have been otherwise, considering the nature of the subjects upon which he treats. Some have eagerly desired to see it rendered more transparent, by the careful

application of the hand of a master to the task;—others have deprecated the notion of making such an attempt, as the presumptuous effort of ignorant folly. But, whatever may be thought of the style of Butler's writings, and however true the observation of Mackintosh might have been, at the period he wrote his Essays, as to the fact of the small number of his followers, it cannot, at the present moment, be doubted, that his principles are gaining numerous converts in both hemispheres.

Butler's theory of morals is at length superseding the erroneous system of Paley, in our English universities, in Ireland, in Scotland, and in many of the colleges of North America. And who can calculate the amount of benefit which may accrue to the next generation, if the simple principles of nature and truth, on which his theory is grounded, shall be rigidly maintained; and the legitimate boundaries of right and wrong shall be fearlessly marked out, and honestly adhered to; while the hollow doctrines of selfishness and expediency shall be as fearlessly exploded, by the public instructors of the youth of our own age?

Professor Whewell has not hesitated to speak distinctly upon this subject, when he says, in the Preface to his Sermons on *The Foundations of Morals*, (p. 1):—"It appeared to me that the evils which arise from the countenance afforded to the principles of Paley's system are so great, as to

make it desirable for us to withdraw our sanction from his doctrines without delay." He further adds, (p. 3):—"I do not think it can be doubted, that the general currency which Paley's *Moral Philosophy* has acquired, (a currency due in no small degree to the adoption of the work by this university,) has had a very large share in producing the confusion and vacillation of thought respecting the grounds of morals, which is at present so generally prevalent in England, even among persons of cultivated minds." He then refers to Butler, as the representative of a better system than Paley, in the observations which were cited in an earlier part of this *Memoir* *.

In his Third Sermon, having alluded to the only sound basis of morals, an enlightened conscience directing the course, under the teaching of the Divine Spirit, in agreement with the laws and will of God, he observes, (p. 72), "If this be the true foundation of Christian morals, we could not fail to look back upon our conduct with regret, if we had ever led men to tenets the contrary of these;—if we had proclaimed to them, that right and wrong are not to be pursued and avoided for their own sakes, but for collateral advantages which they bring. How could we escape the conviction of having diffused errors tending to darken and narrow men's minds, perhaps to pervert and debase their hearts, if we had so far

* Vide page 32.

stopped our ears to the whisperings of our better part, as to declare that virtue was merely the pursuit of enjoyment* rightly understood; or, again, if we had so far forgotten the difference of self-approval and of sensual gratification, as to assert, that all enjoyments, those of the body, and those of the soul, differ from each other, not in kind, but only as some are more and some are less vivid, some continued for a shorter, and some for a longer time*.

"To have given currency and influence to either of these two maxims, of a false, poor, and debased view of human action, might fill us with deep and sad compunction; for what more pernicious and deplorable error can there be, than to employ the position of moral and Christian teachers, in order to depress instead of elevating men's views of duty;—to sink the morality of our schools below the judgments which the common feelings of mankind sanction; instead of setting up in the midst of men a standard truly pure and elevated, such as may reprove, and in the end may reform and raise, the loose and shallow opinions with which the world can content itself? To teach either of these things;—either that virtue is the pursuit of pleasure, or that all pleasures, according to their amount, alike deserve our attention,—would indeed be to delude our hearers, and to forget ourselves."

* "Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, chap. 6 and 7."

"These reproaches," he remarks, (p. 75,) "we might address to ourselves, if we had taught such doctrines as I have described. Yet when, having so taught, we have afterwards amended our course,—have cast aside our errors, and betaken ourselves to better thoughts and purer sources; and have put forth among our hearers principles more consonant to man's real nature, and to the genuine truths of religion,—we may then feel our self-reproaches mitigated by the consciousness of having done what we could to repair our wrong. We may look upon the present and the future with satisfaction and hope; persuaded that our doctrine is such as may lead to make men truly wise and good; and therefore fully resolved to employ our best energies in impressing it on the minds of those who draw near to us; and believing that thus we may best exert that influence which is intrusted to us, for the improvement of man, and the glory of God."

Then, of the better theory, and of Butler as the distinguished expositor of it, he adds, (p. 76):—"In truth, we have, in this place, ever held in the highest reverence the men who inculcated those very principles concerning man's nature and duty which have now been expounded. What name of these later times do we honour more, or more justly, than that of him who has shown how the questionings of men, concerning the providential and the Christian dispensation of

God's mercies, are answered by attention to the ANALOGY of his natural government of the world? Do we not also acknowledge him as a great teacher of morals? and do we not, along with all the most thoughtful men who give their minds to such contemplations, look with admiration upon the light which he shed on the path of moral inquiry? Yet he does not teach that there is no principle of human action but the love of pleasure, and that all pleasures have an equal right to our notice;—he does not declare that he is resolved to pass over all that concerns 'the dignity and capacity of our nature, the superiority of the soul to the body, of the rational to the animal part of our constitution*.' On the contrary, this better teacher calls upon man to discern and remember that there is a higher and nobler part of his nature;—that his principles of action *do* differ in right and office;—that appetite stands rightfully beneath prudence, and that both are under the authority of conscience†. When, therefore, we endeavour to uphold, such principles as have been here delivered, we maintain no new doctrines. We do but go back to the consistent philosophy of the earlier time, rejecting the unhappy devices of that later period when the attempt was made to obtain the assent of the

* "Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, chap. 6."

† "Butler's *Sermons*."

world to rules of morality, by depriving them of their moral signification."

Neither, as we have seen, are the conductors of education in America, insensible of the evils of the prevailing theory of morals, which the writings of Bishop Butler are so well calculated to correct. These evils have recently engaged the attention of professors in different universities of the United States; and have been made the theme of discussion in various transatlantic literary journals. Among the articles upon the subject, in which the author of the *Analogy* is pointed out as the leader whom the moral philosopher should follow, if he would pursue the path of nature and truth, is one deserving of especial notice, in the *Biblical Repository* for 1837; by Mr. Alden, professor of Rhetoric and Political Economy, in William's College.

This talented writer exhibits Butler in forcible contrast with Paley; and while he describes "the incalculable injury," as he terms it, "inflicted by Paley on philosophy," he anticipates in glowing colours, the mighty influence which Butler is destined to exert on the world, by his invaluable moral speculations. Mr. Alden does not agree with those of his American cotemporaries, and with Sir James Mackintosh, and some of his English cotemporaries, who think that harshness and obscurity are the characteristics of Butler's style. He is rather prepared, with the writer of

the article in the *Quarterly Review*, upon the works and character of Paley, (which is quoted page 48,) indignantly to deprecate the notion of its improvement, by means of more flowing periods or polished sentences. The subject however, cannot be better concluded than by allowing Professor Alden to speak in his own language.

"We do not propose to review the writings of Bishop Butler. We should almost as soon think of reviewing the writings of the Apostle Paul. We do not claim to have discovered in his works any excellencies that have not heretofore been known and appreciated. We know not that we can express in a single sentence the design of this article. Perhaps this ought to prevent its appearance in print; we claim, then, the privilege of an exception to the general rule. We should not vary far from the truth were we to say, that our leading motive in selecting the name of BUTLER as the subject of remark, is to call forth our feelings of reverence and admiration—an exercise salutary and important in these democratic days. Intelligent, unfeigned admiration of excellence, is, to say the least, as beneficial in its influence on the intellectual and moral character, as the study of languages, or mathematics, or philosophy. We repeat, we have made no new discoveries in Butler. We shall not presume to inform our readers that he was possessed of one of the best intellects, England, or the world ever saw. This were per-

forming a work of supererogation; a fault Protestant, as well as Romanist, writers are prone to commit. Butler is known to the greater number of readers as the author of the *Analogy*. This work is praised by all, read by a goodly number, and understood and relished by a few. The many regard it as an impregnable fortress erected for the defence of Christianity:—of the plan of its structure, its engines, and artillery, they are ignorant; still, the impression of its strength is sufficient to inspire confidence on the part of friends, and prevent attacks on the part of foes. We do not think that the *Analogy* can be too highly estimated. We think it worthy of all the praises it has received, even of those bestowed on trust and imitation. We yield to none in our admiration of its merits, and we demur to many of its alleged defects. We do not think it open to the charge of obscurity and harshness of expression. We have felt indignant when critics have recommended that it be re-written and improved, by means of a more modern and elegant style. It is true, its pages are not always as clear as those of Addison; nor are the waters of the deep lake, even when free from impurities, as clear as the brook which brawls over its pebbly bottom. It is true, its sentences are not constructed with the mellifluous cadence of Gibbon, the more chastened music of Burke, or the perfect rhythm of Hall; nor does the nature

of the work allow it. No doubt he might have given more of polish to his sentences; but we are not sure that the work had thus been improved and rendered less exceptionable on the score of taste. The smoothness that becomes the alabaster ornament, and the delicacy of hue that gives charm to the fleur-de-lis, would not be in taste in every species of architecture and colouring. Whether obscurity pertains to a work, can be determined only when the design is regarded. The design of the *Analogy* is, we suspect, not always understood. Many peruse it expecting clear and complete demonstration; of these, some fancy they find it because it is Butler, and others lay aside the book with dissatisfaction, if not disgust.

"Now, to give formal and complete demonstration to any truth, to place it in its clearest absolute light, was no part of his object. His design was to collect the dim and scattered rays that had hitherto been unobserved; to bring them together, so as to render visible the many objects which had otherwise remained unseen by them. His object was to bring light out of darkness, (darkness at least to other minds;) if we keep this in view, instead of complaining that the brightness of noon-day is wanting, we shall be astonished at the amount of light he has furnished. We have reason to think that the *Analogy* is sometimes recited in our literary

institutions without any clear comprehension of its scope. We hold this to be a sore evil under the sun. We hold that teacher to be guilty of no small moral obliquity, who allows his pupils to think they understand Butler when they do not. The remark is true in regard to every species of knowledge, but especially so with respect to subjects of an intellectual and moral nature. The *Analogy* can be studied to advantage only when there has been a previous thorough training. It may properly form a part of the later studies of a collegiate course, provided a rigid system of instruction, and requirement in languages and mathematics, has been adhered to in the earlier part. The man that can read and comprehend the *Analogy* possesses a well-disciplined mind: he is prepared to read and understand any sensible writer, and to think soberly and for himself. The introduction of the *Analogy* into our smaller schools leads not merely to a waste of time, but to other serious evils. But if, in this free and enlightened land, parents choose to have their children study *Butler* or *Sanscrit*, before their articulation is distinct, or at least before their orthography is completed, it is not for us to deprive them of their 'inalienable rights.'

"Great as are the merits of Butler, as the author of the *Analogy*, we are disposed to rate his merits as a moral philsosopher still higher. It is as the great expounder of our moral constitu-

tion that we love to contemplate him, rather than as the defender of the Christian Revelation. In the latter cause, others, though possessed of inferior power, have done equal service; in the former, *among uninspired men he stands alone*. To him of right belongs the epithet, unworthily bestowed on the apologist for tyranny, '*the chancellor of human nature**.'—His moral system is contained in his Essay on the *Nature of Virtue*, and in his *Sermons*. Not that he has constructed a formal system:—he has brought out great fundamental truths that lead us to nature's system. It is not our purpose to state at large his contributions to moral science. He may almost be said to have given it existence. It would scarce be exaggeration to say, that whatever of truth, in relation to that science, has appeared since his time, is but the development and expansion of his teachings. Before his exhibition of our social nature, and his reasonings in proof of the supremacy of conscience, the systems of utility and selfishness have fallen, or are destined soon to fall. In regard to the great foundation truths of morals, he is pronounced, by those best qualified to decide so great a question, worthy the name of a DISCOVERER.

"It is as a moral philosopher that Butler has exerted, and is destined to exert his greatest

* "Clarendon."—[The learned American Professor has here applied to *Clarendon*, the epithet which has been usually applied to *Lord Bacon*.]

influence. This will appear, if we consider, first, the influence of moral science. There are those who regard it as having but little influence on the mind and actions of mankind. They regard all abstract speculation as something apart from real life, as foreign from those influences which give to society form and pressure. But this is a superficial view of human nature. In truth, all men are led by speculative theory. The mass are governed in their actions by current rules, maxims, and proverbs, which had their origin in speculative theories. These maxims often continue to exert a mighty influence, long after the theories from which they sprung have exploded. Unhappily, the theories which have given birth to most of the current maxims of the world, have been false, and their influence, of consequence, disastrous. The attentive student of history and human character, has seen the influence of unsound speculative views on almost every subject, and especially in regard to morals. How much of the woe this world has witnessed, can be traced to vicious theories of morals! theories, it is true, originating in the depravity of the human heart, but giving to it a direction and a development it had not otherwise attained.

"Since morals lie at the foundation of human happiness; since the views we entertain on moral topics will give complexion to the whole current of thought and action, he exerts a mighty and

lasting influence, who fixes moral principles on the basis of truth and nature. He who unfolds the mechanism of the celestial framework, and renders it in some degree subservient to the purposes of man, has performed a noble work. Is it a less noble and important task, to unfold the complications of the human soul, and point out the principle that shall correct its anomalous workings, and restore proportion, life, and beauty? Such was the task of Butler. Again,—consider the influence of Butler through means of his disciples. Stewart, that most accomplished teacher, derived his views of morals from Butler. How many thousands have imbibed them from his eloquent lips, and his attractive volumes? Brown, it is asserted, drew from the same store-house, those truths which his own enthusiasm and fancy made so captivating to his crowded hearers, and in his printed pages have carried conviction to so many minds.

"Chalmers, the most effective mind that Scotland at present possesses, employs his matchless expansive powers on the deep truths of Butler. The author of the best moral philosophy that has yet appeared, remarks: 'The author to whom I am under the greatest obligations, is Bishop Butler*.'

"These, and a thousand lesser lights, who owe their brightness to this great moral luminary,

* "Preface to *Wayland's Moral Philosophy.*"

attest the influence he is exerting on the world. We think it clear, then, that it is through means of his moral speculations that he is destined to exert his greatest influence. The progress of his principles has been comparatively slow: in a long time after their publication, they seem to have been 'unknown, rather than rejected.' In later times, their slow progress has been owing to the popularity of Paley. The merit of Paley's other publications, his power of placing things in an atmosphere of light, caused his moral philosophy to be received almost without question, and his book was for many years used as a text-book, in almost every seminary in our land. The injury he has inflicted on philosophy is incalculable. That 'he carried moral philosophy backward*,' always an orthodox, is fast becoming a catholic sentiment. His reign is well nigh over. The lovers of utility must pass over to the ranks of Bentham, or they will soon find their numbers piteously small. Butler has done for moral, what Bacon did for physical science,—pointed out the proper method of study. There were before the time of Bacon, some physical inquirers, that questioned nature aright; and so before the time of Butler, there were some moral inquirers, who caught glimpses of truth, and at times pursued the proper method of investigation. But in

* "See Dr. Channing's review of the works of Paley, in *Ch. Examiner.*"

either case, the examples were so rare, that Bacon and Butler may with propriety be regarded as the great directors in the study of nature and morality.

"Later writers have dwelt much on the application of the inductive method to intellectual and moral science; Butler, without any scientific flourish, practised it. So far as induction is capable of application to the moral subjects, he applied it. He has not furnished theoretic rules, but examples; examples of sober and accurate observation. The man that has made himself acquainted with Butler's manner, who has become familiar with the workings of his mind, who can gaze on truth steadily and long, till it shall stand forth clearly in its full proportions, is prepared to enlarge the boundaries of science. As this mode of study shall be applied to intellectual science, it will advance, and be freed from the uncertainty and suspicion that attends it. We hold it important that the student of mental, as well as moral science, should take lessons from Butler. The thorough study of his works would form the best preparative to entering on that study. Then there would be no fondness for fanciful theories, formal systems, and startling paradoxes.

"The philosophy of Butler is in its spirit eminently practical. It teaches to bring home the profoundest truths to the business and bosoms of men. It is opposed to the abstraction, the lack

of sympathy with reality, which characterize too many philosophers. It is practical, not in the radical, but in the true and elevated sense of the term. Through want of this, a vast amount of intellect and learning has been wasted. A wheel may be of mighty power, yet if it be not fitted to other parts of the machinery, it will be useless. Butler furnishes the best examples of reasoning with which we are acquainted. We dwell on this as a separate theme, inasmuch as some may be induced to study his writings, and to improve themselves in logic, who may be prejudiced against philosophy. Butler was remarkably free from self-confidence, and dogmatism. In this he presents a strong contrast to many philosophers, falsely so called. The ignorance of man was one of his favourite themes. With all his strength, he knew the weakness of the human mind, and was careful to keep its inquiries within legitimate bounds. His modesty, and reverence for superiors, and distrust of himself, is finely exhibited in his correspondence with Dr. Samuel Clarke. He was remarkable for *comprehensiveness of mind.* This term is employed in delineating the character of almost every eminent man. There is a glorious indistinctness about the terms *comprehensiveness* and *depth*, which renders them admirable substitutes for thought. But these terms have a legitimate meaning. There is such a quality as comprehensiveness of mind. Butler affords one

of the best examples of it. We never find him following a chain of reasoning attentive only to the connexion of the links. He always views the truth under examination in connexion with truths already known; and we never for a moment find him pursuing, as true, a proposition that clashes with any truth previously acquired. He embraces the whole circle of related truth at a single view. We have thus glanced at a few of the characteristics of Bishop Butler. We have received our reward in the pleasure attending their contemplation. We shall rejoice should any be led to a higher reverence for, and a more diligent study of his works."

CHAPTER XVII.

Importance of a sound theory of morals.—Butler and Paley's theory compared.—Religious novelties of the day.—Tendency of the study of Butler's writings to check novelties.—Dr. Chalmers's tribute to Butler.—Compares him with Bacon.—Account of Butler's family.—His nephews' contribution to National Fund.—Archbishop Secker's allusion to his nephew, Joseph Butler.—Chalmers's observation on ancestry.—Cowper's ditto.—Butler's early resolution.—His consistency in the pursuit of it.

LET it not be imagined, that in exhibiting Bishop Butler as the leader of the true theory of morals, there is a design to overlook the important fact, that no system of mere morals, however sound, and however excellent, can convert the soul of the transgressor. It is willingly conceded, that morality constitutes only one branch of religion; and, that a man may imbibe the most correct theory of morals, and, not seeking the aid of Divine Grace, and the teaching of the Divine Spirit, fall short of the kingdom of Heaven. But, it must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that, while there may be morality without spiritual religion, there can be no spiritual religion without morality. The importance, therefore, of substituting a *sound*, for an *erroneous*, theory of morals, cannot well be overrated.

Upon the moral system of Paley, it is impossible to erect a Scriptural superstructure; with Butler's theory all the grand doctrines of the Gospel are in beautiful harmony. An attempt to combine the selfish system of Paley with the self-denying precepts of genuine Christianity, would resemble the union in the fabled Centaur, where the head of rational man was made to grow out of the body of an animal of an inferior order of creation. But, when the moral theory of Butler is carried out, and expanded, it so admirably blends with all the higher principles and feelings which revealed religion teaches, and calls into exercise, as to resemble the effect of a grand column, wherein the proportions of the base, the shaft, and the capital, are exquisitely adjusted.

That the writings of the author of the *Analogy*, then, are beginning to be more extensively studied both at home and abroad, is a favourable sign of the times, and cannot fail to produce a wholesome effect. The present age is one of great religious excitement. Exploded theories have revived, under new forms and in new combinations, which give them the appearance of novelties; and, whatever wears the air of novelty is attractive to the inconsiderate and the sanguine. Some of these revived theories may be plausible and harmless, while others are visionary and dangerous. In the circumstances of the present period, then, few studies perhaps,

would produce a more salutary result than the writings of Bishop Butler; because, by leading to deliberate research and accurate discrimination, they will have a tendency to check the revival of exploded theories. Not, indeed, that the writings of this eminent prelate will, *in direct terms,* meet any of the supposed cases of error; but they will inculcate, upon those who attentively consider them, such a habit of mental discipline as will arm them against fanciful speculations. For, as Butler remarks, in his Sermon on Compassion,—"The least observation will show, how little the generality of men are capable of speculations. Therefore morality and religion must be somewhat plain and easy to be understood; it must appeal to what we call plain common sense, as distinguished from superior capacity and improvement; because it appeals to mankind. Persons of superior capacity and improvement have often fallen into errors, which no one of mere common understanding could. The extravagancies of enthusiam and superstition do not at all lie in the road of common sense; and, therefore, so far as they are *original mistakes,* must be owing to going 'beside or beyond it.'"

A judgment, candid, and open to conviction, free from the bias of prepossession, and from the trammels of human authority, will characterize those, who are formed upon the model of the author of the *Analogy.* In pursuing

their researches into the high and hallowed subject of religion, they will "before-hand expect things mysterious, and such as they will not be able thoroughly to comprehend, or go to the bottom of*." They will bear in mind, that, "to expect a distinct comprehensive view of the whole subject, clear of difficulties and objections, is to forget our nature and condition; neither of which admits of such knowledge, with respect to any science whatever. And to inquire with this expectation, is not to inquire as a man, but as one of another order of creatures†." A "due sense of the general ignorance of man, will also beget in them a disposition to take up and rest satisfied with any evidence whatever, which is real‡." And in order to arrive at evidence which is real, they will adopt the philosophical mode of pursuing it, which is alluded to in the beautiful illustration of Butler: "If a man," he observes, "were to walk by twilight, must he not follow his eyes as much as if it were broad day and clear sunshine? Or, if he were obliged to take a journey by night, would be not *give heed to any light shining in the darkness, till the day should break and the day-star arise?* It would not be altogether unnatural for him to reflect how much better it were to have daylight; he might perhaps have great curiosity to see the country round about him; he might lament that the

* Sermon *on the Ignorance of Man.* † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

darkness concealed many extended prospects from his eyes, and wish for the sun to draw away the veil: but how ridiculous would it be to reject, with scorn and disdain, the guidance and direction which that lesser light might afford him, because it was not the sun itself*."

The true disciples of Butler, then, will oppose patient inquiry to dogmatic assertion, and deliberate deductions to precipitate conclusions; and if cautious investigation, under the guidance of a teachable mind, shall leave them still surrounded by difficulties which they cannot unravel, they will remember, with humility, "the shortness of our faculties, and that we are in no wise judges of many things, of which we are apt to think ourselves very competent ones†." Or, as an inspired writer observes, of the vain efforts of man, who, while he is a mystery to himself, and while all around is a mystery to him, labours, with an unhallowed hand, to unravel the mysteries of the Divine dispensations, "*The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law*‡."

Incidental circumstances sometimes elicit an unpremeditated tribute of veneration for exalted character, which is more to be valued than the

* Vide Sermon *on the Ignorance of Man.*

† *Analogy*, part ii. chap. iii. ‡ Deut. xxix. 29.

most laboured panegyric. The following occurence will perhaps be regarded as an example of this nature. In the summer of the year 1833, the Writer of this *Memoir* was honoured by a visit from the learned and excellent Dr. Chalmers. During a conversation with that distinguished Christian philosopher, upon the course of study pursued in the Divinity School at Edinburgh, he remarked, "that he made a point of grounding his class in Butler's *Analogy*, as one of the most important works which could engage the attention of the theological student;" and he proceeded to speak of the author of that treatise in terms of the highest admiration. His eloquent ardour on the subject led to an allusion to some family relics of Butler, which were immediately inspected by him with lively interest. Among these, a Greek Testament, with manuscript notes by the bishop, was put into his hands; and the divinity professor was requested to inscribe some original remark upon a blank page of the little volume. Dr. Chalmers received this request in a manner so strikingly indicative of the humility of a great mind, as to have left a strong impression upon those who witnessed the scene. He declared himself "unworthy to write in Butler's own Testament,"—that "it was a task for which he felt himself incompetent,"—and that he "ought to have a week to consider of some sentiment deserving to be recorded in such a place." With difficulty his

reluctance was overcome, when he sat down and wrote as follows :—

"Butler is in theology what Bacon is in science. The reigning principle of the latter is, that it is not for man to *theorize* on the works of God; and of the former, that it is not for man to theorize on the ways of God. Both deferred alike to the certainty of experience, as being paramount to all the plausibilities of hypothesis; and he who attentively studies the writings of these great men, will find a marvellous concurrence of principle between a sound philosophy and a sound faith."

"*July* 3, 1833."

Joseph Butler, the author of the *Analogy*, was never married. His brother Jonathan left one son, the Rev. Jonathan Butler of Waddesdon, before alluded to, who was twice married, but died without issue. His eldest brother, Robert, like his father, had eight children: Thomas, a solicitor; Joseph, in holy orders; and Robert, Jonathan, and John, who succeeded, as joint partners, to their father's business of a linen and woollen draper. There were also three daughters, Lucy, Elizabeth, and Mary, only the first of whom was married. She was the wife of Gilbert Cowper, an eminent surgeon at Wantage. Thomas, who, in addition to his country practice, had chambers in the metropolis, at Lyon's-inn, died a bachelor,

and bequeathed a considerable property to his brother Joseph. Robert, likewise dying unmarried, left his property, which was considerable, to his brother Joseph. John Butler survived all his brothers and sisters, and bequeathed a large property to his nephew Joseph, of Kirby-house, the eldest son of his brother Joseph. This was the well-meaning but eccentric bachelor, who was disappointed when his uncle refused the primacy; and who ventured to remonstrate with him, upon his having done so little for his own family. That wealth, however, which the conscience of the bishop forbade him to divert from its legitimate uses, for the aggrandizement of his relatives, the industry and diligence of this nephew procured, by successful mercantile enterprise. The conduct of John Butler, to his male relations, was of a singularly munificent character. Having purchased some valuable landed estates, he made them over, during his own life, to his nephews, Joseph of Kirby-house, and Robert, the rector of Inkpen. He, moreover, assisted deserving persons in his native town, by establishing them in business, and advancing money for their benefit; but, he would never tolerate an extravagant person. When Mr. Pitt appealed to the nation, during the war, in 1797, to render pecuniary assistance in aid of the resources of the country, John Butler, and his surviving brothers, sent each one hundred guineas in gold, as their contribution to the National Fund.

Joseph Butler, prebendary of St. Paul's, and rector of St. Paul's, Shadwell, was the only nephew of the bishop who has now surviving issue. He married Susannah, the daughter of George Hoar, Esq., of Limehouse, and aunt to the late admiral Sir Thomas Bertie, the late Sir Charles Harland, and George Hoar, Esq., of Twyford-lodge near Winchester. By this lady he had thirteen children, only seven of whom arrived at maturity.

It was to Joseph Butler that Archbishop Secker, in a letter to Dr. Salter*, dated Oct. 15, 1766, alluded, when he said,—"There is a grandson of my patron, Bishop Talbot, and a nephew of my friend Bishop Butler with a very large family, and both of them in very narrow circumstances, for whom I have hitherto done nothing; and two nephews of my friend and brother, Bishop Benson, for whom I have not done enough. I lately gave a good prebend to Mr. (Gloster) Ridley; he not only deserved, but wanted, and so do many others." That competent provision for a large family, however, which his preferment in the church did not furnish to Butler's nephew Joseph, was afterwards supplied, as has been stated, by the decease of his elder brothers, Thomas and Robert.

The surviving children of Joseph Butler, were, 1. Elizabeth, married to Henry Norton Willis,

* Dr. Salter married Miss Secker, a cousin of the archbishop's.

one of the commissioners of the Board of Green Cloth, and comptroller of the household of the late Princess Charlotte of Wales*. 2. Joseph, late of Kirby-house, in the parish of Inkpen, Berks. 3. Robert, late rector of Inkpen. 4. Thomas, a gallant naval officer, who, having at an early age been made post-captain, and appointed to the command of the *Diamond* frigate, was lost in the *Scarborough* man-of-war, (in which he was proceeding to St. Juan's, as a passenger, to join his own ship,) in the hurricane off Jamaica, in the year 1783. 5. Catherine Susannah, married to Gilbert Cowper, the younger, who successfully pursued his father's profession of medicine. 6. John, a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in holy orders. 7. Sarah, unmarried, the only survivor, at the present period, and who is now residing in the family of the writer of this *Memoir*.

Although, of the four sons of the Rev. Joseph Butler, only the eldest, Joseph of Kirby-house, left issue, there is no probability of the family of the illustrious prelate becoming extinct; as two of his grandsons, and three of his grand-daughters, have surviving offspring: from one of whom the children of the writer of this *Memoir* derive their consanguinity to the author of the *Analogy*.

* This gentleman was well known in the literary world. He was an active magistrate, and was the colonel of the Kensington Volunteers.

"A proud ancestry!" exclaimed Dr. Chalmers, as he was looking at a portrait of Bishop Butler, when surrounded by some of his juvenile relatives: "It is an honour to be descended from such a man."

This observation will not be appreciated by those who consider nothing illustrious, which cannot be supported by a long train of heraldic emblazonment; and who, contemplating only the unobtrusive origin of Butler, would overlook the deep and broad basis upon which the veneration of posterity for his name is grounded. True nobility, however, has a firmer foundation than the favour of a monarch, or the archives of a herald's college. Of those who boast of noble descent, while they do not emulate the worthy example of their progenitors, it may be lamented, in a higher sense than that intended by the Roman moralist,—

O domus antiqua, heu quam dispari dominare domino!

While he, whose forefathers have made it evident, by their piety and active charity, that their talents were devoted to the service of Him whose stewards we are, may say, with the Christian poet, Cowper, in his Lines upon receiving his Mother's Portrait,

> My boast is not that I deduce my birth
> From loins enthron'd, and rulers of the Earth;
> But higher far my proud pretensions rise,—
> The son of parents pass'd into the skies!

The station to which, by the Divine blessing, the piety and commanding talents of Bishop Butler advanced him, was one of great dignity and honour; but had he remained the humble curate of some rural parish, his name would have descended with lustre, and have been revered by the wise and discerning, as long as the immutable principles of truth shall vindicate their claims, and assert their supremacy, over the delusive dreams of the infidel, and over the wandering speculations of the theorist.

In his Third Letter to Dr. Clarke, Butler remarked, "*I design the search after truth as the business of my life;*" and never, perhaps, has there been an example of one, who, throughout his whole course, more uniformly and perseveringly adhered to the noble purpose of his opening career. He acted upon the counsel of the wise man, in the diligence and earnestness of his pursuit after wisdom; and he realised the truth of the promise by its successful attainment. "If thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding; if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures; then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God*."

In surveying the career of Bishop Butler, we contemplate a course of unpretending Christian consistency, and pre-eminent usefulness; and com-

* Prov. ii. 3, 4.

pared with such a course, in its bearing upon the moral welfare of others, how insignificant does the most successful career of worldly ambition appear! The latter may dazzle by its brightness, the former will attract by its beauty;—the one may astonish, while the other charms;—this may be brilliant for a season, and set in darkness; that will continue to "shine, as a light in the world*."

* Philipp. ii. 15.

A

COMPENDIUM

OF

BISHOP BUTLER'S

ANALOGY,

IN THE AUTHOR'S OWN LANGUAGE.

"The evidence of Christianity will be a long series of things, reaching, as it seems, from the beginning of the world to the present time, of great variety and compass, taking in both the direct, and also the collateral proofs; and making up, all of them together, ONE ARGUMENT."

Analogy, Part ii. Chap. 7.

FROM

THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

PROBABLE evidence is essentially distinguished from demonstrative by this, that it admits of degrees; and of all variety of them, from the highest moral certainty, to the very lowest presumption. We cannot indeed say a thing is probably true upon one very slight presumption for it; because, as there may be probabilities on both sides of a question, there may be some against it: and though there be not, yet a slight presumption does not beget that degree of conviction, which is implied in saying a thing is probably true. But that the slightest possible presumption is of the nature of a probability, appears from hence; that such low presumption often repeated, will amount even to moral certainty. Thus a man's having observed the ebb and flow of the tide to-day, affords some sort of presumption, though the lowest imaginable, that it may happen again to-morrow: but the observation of this event for so many days, and months, and ages together, as it has been observed by mankind, gives us a full assurance that it will.

That which chiefly constitutes probability is expressed in the word likely, *i. e.*, like some truth*, or true event; like it, in itself, in its evidence, in some more or fewer of its circumstances. For when we determine a thing to be probably true, suppose that an event has or will come to pass, it is from the mind's remarking in it a likeness to some other event, which we have observed has come to pass. Hence arises the belief, that a child, if it lives twenty years, will grow up to the stature and strength of a man; that food will contribute to the preservation of its life, and the want of it for such a number of days, be its certain destruction. And thus, whereas the prince† who had always lived in a warm climate, naturally concluded, in the way of analogy, that there was no such thing as water's becoming hard, because he had always observed it to be fluid and yielding: we, on the contrary, from analogy conclude, that there is no presumption at all against this: that it is supposable, there may be frost in England any given day in January next; probable that there will on some day of the month; and that there is a moral certainty, *i. e.*, ground for an expectation without any doubt of it, in some part or other of the winter.

* Verisimile.

† The story is told by Mr. Locke, in the *Chapter of Probability.*

Probable evidence, in its very nature, affords but an imperfect kind of information; and is to be considered as relative only to beings of limited capacities. For nothing which is the possible object of knowledge, whether past, present, or future, can be probable to an infinite intelligence; since it cannot but be discerned absolutely as it is in itself, certainly true, or certainly false. But to us, probability is the very guide of life.

From these things it follows, that in questions of difficulty, or such as are thought so, where more satisfactory evidence cannot be had, or is not seen; if the result of examination be, that there appears upon the whole, any the lowest presumption on one side, and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side, though in the lowest degree greater; this determines the question, even in matters of speculation; and in matters of practice, will lay us under an absolute and formal obligation, in point of prudence and interest, to act upon that presumption or low probability, though it be so low as to leave the mind in very great doubt which is the truth. For surely a man is as really bound in prudence, to do what upon the whole appears, according to the best of his judgment, to be for his happiness, as what he certainly knows to be so.

I shall not take upon me to say, how far the extent, compass, and force, of analogical reasoning, can be reduced to general heads and rules; and

the whole be formed into a system. But though so little in this way has been attempted by those who have treated of our intellectual powers, and the exercise of them; this does not hinder but that we may be, as we unquestionably are, assured, that analogy is of weight, in various degrees, towards determining our judgment, and our practice. It is enough to the present purpose to observe, that this general way of arguing is evidently natural, just, and conclusive. For there is no man can make a question but that the sun will rise tomorrow; and be seen, where it is seen at all, in the figure of a circle, and not in that of a square. Hence, namely, from analogical reasoning, Origen has with singular sagacity observed, that "he who believes the Scripture to have proceeded from him who is the Author of nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it, as are found in the constitution of nature*". And in a like way of reflection it may be added, that he who denies the Scripture to have been from God upon account of these difficulties, may, for the very same reason, deny the world to have been formed by Him. On the other hand, if there be an analogy or likeness between that system of things

* *Χρὴ μέν τοι γε τὸν ἅπαξ παραδεξάμενον τοῦ κτίσαντος τὸν κόσμον εἶναι ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς πεπεῖσθαι ὅτι ὅσα περὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἁπαντᾶ τοῖς ζητοῦσι τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν γραφῶν.—Philocal.* p. 23. Ed. Cant.

and dispensation of Providence, which revelation informs us of, and that system of things and dispensation of Providence, which experience together with reason informs us of, *i. e.*, the known course of uature; this is a presumption, that they have both the same author and cause; at least so far as to answer objections against the former's being from God, drawn from any thing which is analogical or similar to what is in the latter, which is acknowledged to be from him; for an Author of nature is here supposed.

This method then of concluding and determining being practical, and what, if we will act at all, we cannot but act upon in the common pursuits of life; being evidently conclusive, in various degrees, proportionable to the degree and exactness of the whole analogy or likeness; and having so great authority for its introduction into the subject of religion, even revealed religion; my design is to apply it to that subject in general, both natural and revealed: taking for proved, that there is an intelligent Author of nature, and natural Governor of the world. For as there is no presumption against this prior to the proof of it, so it has been often proved with accumulated evidence; from this argument of analogy and final causes; from abstract reasonings; from the most ancient tradition and testimony; and from the general consent of mankind. Nor does it appear, so far as I can find, to be denied, by the generality of

those who profess themselves dissatisfied with the evidence of religion.

Our whole nature leads us to ascribe all moral perfection to God, and to deny all imperfection of him. And this will for ever be a practical proof of his moral character, to such as will consider what a practical proof is; because it is the voice of God speaking in us. And from hence we conclude, that virtue must be the happiness, and vice the misery of every creature; and that regularity and order and right cannot but prevail finally in a universe under his government. But we are in no sort judges, what are the necessary means of accomplishing this end.

Let us then, instead of that idle and not very innocent employment of forming imaginary models of a world, and schemes of governing it, turn our thoughts to what we experience to be the conduct of nature with respect to intelligent creatures; which may be resolved into general laws or rules of administration, in the same way as many of the laws of nature respecting inanimate matter may be collected from experiments. And let us compare the known constitution and course of things with what is said to be the moral system of nature—the acknowledged dispensations of Providence, or that government which we find ourselves under, with what religion teaches us to believe and expect; and see whether they are not analogous and of a piece. And upon such a com-

parison, it will I think be found, that they are very much so; that both may be traced up to the same general laws, and resolved into the same principles of divine conduct.

The analogy here proposed to be considered, is of pretty large extent, and consists of several parts; in some, more, in others, less exact. In some few instances perhaps it may amount to a real practical proof; in others not so. Yet in these it is a confirmation of what is proved other ways. It will undeniably show, what too many want to have shown them, that the system of religion both natural and revealed, considered only as a system, and prior to the proof of it, is not a subject of ridicule, unless that of nature be so too. And it will afford an answer to almost all objections against the system both of natural and revealed religion; though not perhaps an answer in so great a degree, yet in a very considerable degree an answer, to the objections against the evidence of it; for objections against a proof, and objections against what is said to be proved, the reader will observe are different things.

Now the Divine government of the world, implied in the notion of religion in general and of Christianity, contains in it; that mankind is appointed to live in a future state[1]; that there, every one shall be rewarded or punished[2]; rewarded or punished respectively for all that beha-

[1] Ch. i. [2] Ch. ii.

viour here, which we comprehend under the words, virtuous, or vicious, morally good or evil[1]: that our present life is a probation, a state of trial[2], and of discipline[3], for that future one; notwithstanding the objections, which men may fancy they have, from notions of necessity, against there being any such moral plan as this at all[4]; and whatever objections may appear to lie against the wisdom and goodness of it, as it stands so imperfectly made known to us at present[5]: that this world being in a state of apostasy and wickedness, and consequently of ruin, and the sense both of their condition and duty being greatly corrupted amongst men, this gave occasion for an additional dispensation of Providence; of the utmost importance[6]; proved by miracles[7]; but containing in it many things appearing to us strange and not to have been expected[8]; a dispensation of Providence, which is a scheme or system of things[9]; carried on by the mediation of a divine person, the Messiah, in order to the recovery of the world[10]; yet not revealed to all men, nor proved with the strongest possible evidence to all those to whom it is revealed; but only to such a part of mankind, and with such particular evidence as the wisdom of God thought fit[11]. The design then of the following treatise

[1] Ch. iii. [2] Ch. iv. [3] Ch. v. [4] Ch. vi.
[5] Ch. vii. [6] Part ii. ch. i. [7] Ch. ii. [8] Ch. iii.
[9] Ch. iv. [10] Ch. v. [11] Ch. vi. vii.

will be to show that the several parts principally objected against in this moral and Christian dispensation, including its scheme, its publication, and the proof which God has afforded us of its truth; that the particular parts principally objected against in this whole dispensation, are analogous to what is experienced in the constitution and course of nature, or Providence; that the chief objections themselves which are alleged against the former, are no other than what may be alleged with like justness against the latter, where they are found in fact to be inconclusive; and that this argument from analogy is in general unanswerable, and undoubtedly of weight on the side of religion[1], notwithstanding the objections which may seem to lie against it, and the real ground which there may be for difference of opinion, as to the particular degree of weight which is to be laid upon it. This is a general account of what may be looked for in the following Treatise. And I shall begin with that which is the foundation of all our hopes and of all our fears; all our hopes and fears, which are of any consideration; I mean a future life.

[1] Ch. viii.

A

COMPENDIUM

OF THE

ANALOGY OF RELIGION,

&c.

PART I.

OF NATURAL RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

Of a Future Life.

I. From our being born into the present world in the helpless imperfect state of infancy, and having arrived from thence to mature age, we find it to be a general law of nature in our own species, that the same creatures, the same individuals, should exist in degrees of life and perception, with capacities of action, of enjoyment and suffering, in one period of their being, greatly different from those appointed them in another period of it. And in other creatures the same law holds. For the difference of their capacities and states of life at their birth (to go no higher) and in maturity; the change of worms into flies, and the vast enlargement of their locomotive powers by such change: and birds and insects bursting the shell,

their habitation, and by this means entering into a new world, furnished with new accommodations for them, and finding a new sphere of action assigned them; these are instances of this general law of nature. Thus all the various and wonderful transformations of animals are to be taken into consideration here. But the states of life in which we ourselves existed formerly in the womb, and in our infancy, are almost as different from our present, in mature age, as it is possible to conceive any two states or degrees of life can be. Therefore, that we are to exist hereafter in a state as different (suppose) from our present, as this is from our former, is but according to the analogy of nature; according to a natural order or appointment of the very same kind, with what we have already experienced.

II. We know we are endued with capacities of action, of happiness and misery; for we are conscious of acting, of enjoying pleasure and suffering pain. Now that we have these powers and capacities before death, is a presumption that we shall retain them through and after death; indeed a probability of it abundantly sufficient to act upon, unless there be some positive reason to think that death is the destruction of those living powers; because there is in every case a probability, that all things will continue as we experience they are, in all respects, except those in which we have some reason to think they will be

altered. Thus, if men were assured that the unknown event, death, was not the destruction of our faculties of perception and of action, there would be no apprehension that any other power or event unconnected with this of death, would destroy these faculties just at the instant of each creature's death; and therefore no doubt but that they would remain after it: which shows the high probability that our living powers will continue after death, unless there be some ground to think that death is their destruction. For, if it would be in a manner certain that we should survive death, provided it were certain that death would not be our destruction, it must be highly probable we shall survive it, if there be no ground to think death will be our destruction.

Now, though I think it must be acknowledged, that prior to the natural and moral proofs of a future life commonly insisted upon, there would arise a general confused suspicion, that in the great shock and alteration which we shall undergo by death, we, *i. e.* our living powers, might be wholly destroyed; yet even prior to those proofs, there is really no particular distinct ground or reason for this apprehension at all, so far as I can find. If there be, it must arise either from *the reason of the thing*, or from *the analogy of nature.*

But we cannot argue from *the reason of the thing*, that death is the destruction of living agents, because we know not at all what death is

in itself; but only some of its effects, such as the dissolution of flesh, skin, and bone. And these effects do in nowise appear to imply the destruction of a living agent. And besides, as we are greatly in the dark, upon what the exercise of our living powers depends, so we are wholly ignorant what the powers themselves depend upon; for sleep, or however a swoon, shows us, not only that these powers exist when they are not exercised, as the passive power of motion does in inanimate matter; but shows also that they exist, when there is no present capacity of exercising them; or that the capacities of exercising them for the present, as well as the actual exercise of them, may be suspended, and yet the powers themselves remain undestroyed. Since, then, we know not at all upon what the existence of our living powers depends, this shows further, there can no probability be collected from *the reason of the thing*, that death will be their destruction; because their existence may depend upon somewhat in no degree affected by death; upon somewhat quite out of the reach of this king of terrors. Nor can we find any thing throughout the whole *analogy of nature*, to afford us even the slightest presumption, that animals ever lose their living powers; much less, if it were possible, that they lose them by death; for we have no faculties wherewith to trace any beyond or through it, so as to see what becomes of them. This event removes them from

our view. It destroys the *sensible* proof, which we had before their death, of their being possessed of living powers, but does not appear to afford the least reason to believe that they are, then, or by that event, deprived of them.

And our knowing, that they were possessed of these powers, up to the very period to which we have faculties capable of tracing them, is itself a probability of their retaining them beyond it. And this is confirmed, and a sensible credibility is given to it, by observing the very great and astonishing changes which we have experienced; so great, that our existence in another state of life, of perception and of action, will be but according to a method of providential conduct, the like to which has been already exercised even with regard to ourselves; according to a course of nature, the like to which we have already gone through.

III. All presumption of death's being the destruction of living beings, must go upon supposition that they are compounded; and so, discerptible *. But since consciousness is a single and indivisible power, it should seem that the subject in which it resides, must be so too. In like manner it has been argued, and, for anything appearing to the contrary, justly, that since the perception or consciousness, which we have of our own existence, is indivisible, so as that it is a contradiction to

* That which may be separated, or divided.

suppose one part of it should be here, and the other there; the perceptive power, or the power of consciousness, is indivisible too: and consequently the subject in which it resides; *i. e.* the conscious being. Now upon supposition that the living agent each man calls himself, is thus a single being, which there is at least no more difficulty in conceiving than in conceiving it to be a compound, and of which there is the proof now mentioned; it follows, that our organised bodies are no more ourselves, or part of ourselves, than any other matter around us. And it is as easy to conceive, how matter, which is no part of ourselves, may be appropriated to us in the manner which our present bodies are; as how we can receive impressions from, and have power over any matter. It is as easy to conceive, that we may exist out of bodies, as in them; that we might have animated bodies of any other organs and senses wholly different from these now given us, and that we may hereafter animate these same or new bodies variously modified and organized; as to conceive how we can animate such bodies as our present. And lastly, the dissolution of all these several organised bodies, supposing ourselves to have successively animated them, would have no more conceivable tendency to destroy the living beings ourselves, or deprive us of living faculties, the faculties of perception and of action, than the dissolution of any foreign matter, which we are

capable of receiving impressions from, and making use of for the common occasions of life. For we see by experience, that men may lose their limbs, their organs of sense, and even the greatest part of these bodies, and yet remain the same living agents. And persons can trace up the existence of themselves to a time, when the bulk of their bodies was extremely small, in comparison of what it is in mature age; and we cannot but think, that they might then have lost a considerable part of that small body, and yet have remained the same living agents; as they may now lose great part of their present body, and remain so. Now things of this kind unavoidably teach us to distinguish, between these living agents ourselves, and large quantities of matter, in which we are very nearly interested; since these may be alienated, and actually are in a daily course of succession, and changing their owners; whilst we are assured, that each living agent remains one and the same permanent being.

IV. We have already several times over lost a great part, or perhaps the whole of our body, according to certain common established laws of nature; yet we remain the same living agents: when we shall lose as great a part, or the whole, by another common established law of nature, death; why may we not also remain the same? That the alienation has been gradual in one case, and in the other will be more at once, does not prove

any thing to the contrary. We have passed undestroyed through those many and great revolutions of matter, so peculiarly appropriated to us ourselves; why should we imagine death will be so fatal to us?

If we consider our body somewhat more distinctly, as made up of organs and instruments of perception and motion, it will bring us to the same conclusion. Thus the common optical experiments show, and even the observation how sight is assisted by glasses shows, that we see with our eyes in the same sense as we see with glasses. Nor is there any reason to believe, that we see with them in any other sense; any other, I mean, which would lead us to think the eye itself a percipient. The like is to be said of hearing: and our feeling distant solid matter by means of somewhat in our hand, seems an instance of the like kind, as to the subject we are considering. All these are instances of foreign matter, or such as is no part of our body, being instrumental in preparing objects for, and conveying them to the perceiving power, in a manner similar, or like to the manner in which our organs or sense prepare and convey them. And if we see with our eyes only in the same manner as we do with glasses, the like may justly be concluded, from analogy, of all our other senses.

So also with regard to our power of moving, or directing motion by will and choice: upon the

destruction of a limb, this active power remains, as it evidently seems, unlessened; so that the living being, who has suffered this loss, would be capable of moving as before, if it had another limb to move with. It can walk by the help of an artificial leg; just as it can make use of a pole or a lever, to reach towards itself and to move things, beyond the length and the power of its natural arm: and this last it does in the same manner as it reaches and moves, with its natural arm, things nearer and of less weight. Nor is there so much as any appearance of our limbs being endued with a power of moving or directing themselves; though they are adapted, like the several parts of a machine, to be the instruments of motion to each other; and some parts of the same limb, to be instruments of motion to other parts of it.

Thus a man determines, that he will look at such an object through a microscope; or being lame, suppose, that he will walk to such a place with a staff a week hence. His eyes and his feet no more determine in these cases, than the microscope and the staff. Nor is there any ground to think they any more put the determination into practice; or that his eyes are the seers or his feet the movers, in any other sense than as the microscope and the staff are. Upon the whole then, our organs of sense and our limbs are certainly instruments, which the living persons ourselves make use of to perceive and move with:

there is no probability, that they are any more: nor consequently is there any probability, that the alienation or dissolution of these instruments is the destruction of the perceiving and moving agent. And we have no reason to think we stand in any other kind of relation to any thing which we find dissolved by death.

V. Human creatures exist at present in two states of life and perception, greatly different from each other; each of which has its own peculiar laws, and its own peculiar enjoyments and sufferings. When any of our senses are affected, or appetites gratified with the objects of them, we may be said to exist or live in a state of sensation. When none of our senses are affected or appetites gratified, and yet we perceive, and reason, and act; we may be said to exist or live in a state of reflection. Now it is by no means certain, that any thing which is dissolved by death, is any way necessary to the living being in this its state of reflection, after ideas are gained. For, though from our present constitution and condition of being, our external organs of sense are necessary for conveying in ideas to our reflecting powers, as carriages, and levers, and scaffolds are in architecture: yet when these ideas are brought in, we are capable of reflecting in the most intense degree, and of enjoying the greatest pleasure and feeling the greatest pain by means of that reflection, without any assistance from our senses, and without any

at all, which we know of, from that body which will be dissolved by death. It does not appear then, that the relation of this gross body to the reflecting being is, in any degree, necessary to thinking; to our intellectual enjoyments or sufferings; nor, consequently, that the dissolution or alienation of the former by death, will be the destruction of those present powers which render us capable of this state of reflection. Further, there are instances of mortal diseases which do not at all affect our present intellectual powers; and this affords a presumption that those diseases will not destroy these present powers. For in those diseases persons the moment before death, appear to be in the highest vigour of life. They discover apprehension, memory, reason, all entire; with the utmost force of affection; sense of a character, of shame and honour; and the highest mental enjoyments and sufferings, even to the last gasp: and these surely prove even greater vigour of life than bodily strength does. Now what pretence is there for thinking, that a progressive disease when arrived to such a degree, I mean that degree which is mortal, will destroy those powers which were not impaired, which were not affected by it, during its whole progress quite up to that degree? And if death by diseases of this kind is not the destruction of our present reflecting powers, it will scarce be thought that death by any other means is.

So that our posthumous life, whatever there may be in it additional to our present, yet may not be entirely beginning anew; but going on. Death may, in some sort, and in some respects, answer to our birth; which is not a suspension of the faculties which we had before it, or a total change of the state of life in which we existed when in the womb; but a continuation of both, with such and such great alterations.

Nay, for ought we know of ourselves, of our present life and of death; death may immediately, in the natural course of things, put us into a higher and more enlarged state of life, as our birth does*; a state in which our capacities, and sphere of perception and of action, may be much greater than at present. For as our relation to our external organs of sense, renders us capable of existing in our present state of sensation; so it may be the only natural hinderance to our existing, immediately and of course, in a higher state of reflection. The truth is, reason does not at all show us, in what state death naturally leaves us.

* This, according to Strabo, was the opinion of the Brachmans, *Νομίζειν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὸν μὲν ἐνθάδε βίον, ὡς ἂν ἀκμὴν κυομένων εἶναι· τὸν δὲ θάνατον, γένεσιν εἰς τὸν ὄντως βίον, καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα τοῖς φιλοσοφήσασι.* Lib. xv. p. 1039. Ed. Amst. 1707. To which opinion perhaps Antoninus may allude in these words, *Ὡς νῦν περιμένεις, πότε ἔμβρυον ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς τῆς γυναικός σου ἐξέλθῃ, οὕτως ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ τὸ ψυχάριον σου τοῦ ἐλύτρου τούτου ἐκπεσεῖται.*—Lib. ix. c. 3.

And thus, when we go out of this world, we may pass into new scenes, and a new state of life and action, just as naturally as we came into the present. And this new state may naturally be a social one. And the advantages of it, advantages of every kind, may naturally be bestowed, according to some fixed general laws of wisdom, upon every one in proportion to the degrees of his virtue.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Government of God by Rewards and Punishments; and particularly of the latter.

That which makes the question concerning a future life to be of so great importance to us, is our capacity of happiness and misery. And that which makes the consideration of it to be of so great importance to us, is the supposition of our happiness and misery hereafter, depending upon our actions here.

Now in the present state, all which we enjoy, and a great part of what we suffer, *is put in our own power*. For pleasure and pain are the consequences of our actions: and we are endued by the Author of our nature with capacities of foreseeing these consequences. We find by experience He does not so much as preserve our lives, exclusively of our own care and attention, to provide ourselves with, and to make use of, that sustenance, by which he has appointed our lives shall be preserved; and without which, he has appointed, they shall not be preserved at all. I know not, that we have any one kind or degree of enjoyment, but by the means of our own actions. And by prudence and care, we may, for the most part, pass our days in tolerable ease and quiet:

or, on the contrary, we may by rashness, ungoverned passion, wilfulness, or even by negligence, make ourselves as miserable as ever we please. And many do please to make themselves extremely miserable, *i. e.* to do what they know beforehand will render them so. They follow those ways, the fruit of which they know, by instruction, example, experience, will be disgrace, and poverty, and sickness, and untimely death. This every one observes to be the general course of things; though it is to be allowed, we cannot find by experience, that all our sufferings are owing to our own follies.

An Author of nature then being supposed, it is not so much a deduction of reason, as a matter of experience, that we are under his government: under his goverment in the same sense as we are under the government of civil magistrates. Because the annexing pleasure to some actions, and pain to others, in our power to do or forbear, and giving notice of this appointment beforehand to those whom it concerns; is the proper formal notion of government. Vain is the ridicule, with which, one foresees, some persons will divert themselves, upon finding lesser pains considered as instances of divine punishment. There is no possibility of answering or evading the general thing here intended, without denying all final causes. For final causes being admitted, the pleasures and pains now mentioned must be

admitted too as instances of them. And if they are; if God annexes delight to some actions, and uneasiness to others, with an apparent design to induce us to act so and so; then he not only dispenses happiness and misery, but also rewards and punishes actions. If, for example, the pain which we feel, upon doing what tends to the destruction of our bodies, suppose upon too near approaches to fire, or upon wounding ourselves, be appointed by the Author of nature to prevent our doing what thus tends to our destruction; this is altogether as much an instance of his punishing our actions, and consequently of our being under his government, as declaring by a voice from heaven, that if we acted so, he would inflict such pain upon us, and inflicting it, whether it be greater or less.

And thus the whole analogy of nature, the whole present course of things, most fully shows, that there is nothing incredible in the general doctrine of religion, that God will reward and punish men for their actions hereafter: nothing incredible, I mean, arising out of the notion of rewarding and punishing. For the whole course of nature is a present instance of his exercising that government over us, which implies in it rewarding and punishing.

But as Divine punishment is what men chiefly object against, and are most unwilling to allow; it may be proper to mention some circumstances

in the natural course of punishments at present, which are analogous to what religion teaches us concerning a future state of punishment; indeed so analogous, that as they add a further credibility to it, so they cannot but raise a most serious apprehension of it in those who will attend to them.

Now the circumstances of natural punishments, particularly deserving our attention, are such as these; that oftentimes they follow, or are inflicted in consequence of, actions, which procure many present advantages, and are accompanied with much present pleasure; for instance, sickness and untimely death is the consequence of intemperance, though accompanied with the highest mirth and jollity: that these punishments are often much greater, than the advantages or pleasures obtained by the actions, of which they are the punishments or consequences: that though we may imagine a constitution of nature, in which these natural punishments, which are in fact to follow, would follow immediately upon such actions being done, or very soon after; we find on the contrary in our world, that they are often delayed a great while, sometimes even till long after the actions occasioning them are forgot; so that the constitution of nature is such, that delay of punishment is no sort nor degree of presumption of final impunity. Thus though youth may be alleged as an excuse for rashness and folly, as being naturally

thoughtless, and not clearly foreseeing all the consequences of being untractable and profligate; this does not hinder, but that these consequences follow, and are grievously felt, throughout the whole course of mature life. Habits contracted even in that age, are often utter ruin; and men's success in the world, not only in the common sense of worldly success, but their real happiness and misery, depends, in a great degree, and in various ways, upon the manner in which they pass their youth; which consequences they for the most part neglect to consider, and perhaps seldom can properly be said to believe, beforehand. It requires also to be mentioned, that in numberless cases, the natural course of things affords us opportunities for procuring advantages to ourselves at certain times, which we cannot procure when we will: nor ever recall the opportunities, if we have neglected them. If the husbandman lets his seed-time pass without sowing, the whole year is lost to him beyond recovery. It is further very much to be remarked, that neglects from inconsiderateness, want of attention, not looking about us to see what we have to do, are often attended with consequences altogether as dreadful, as any active misbehaviour, from the most extravagant passion. And lastly, civil government being natural, the punishments of it are so too: and some of these punishments are capital; as the effects of a dissolute course of pleasure are often mortal.

So that many natural punishments are final to him, who incurs them, if considered only in his temporal capacity; and seem inflicted by natural appointment, either to remove the offender out of the way of being further mischievous; or as an example, though frequently a disregarded one, to those who are left behind.

These things are not, what we call accidental, or to be met with only now and then; but they are things of every day's experience: they proceed from general laws, very general ones, by which God governs the world, in the natural course of his providence. And they are so analogous to what religion teaches us concerning the future punishment of the wicked, so much of a piece with it, that both would naturally be expressed in the very same words, and manner of description. In the book of Proverbs*, for instance, Wisdom is introduced, as frequenting the most public places of resort, and as rejected when she offers herself as the natural appointed guide of human life. "How long," speaking to those who are passing through it, "how long, ye simple ones, will ye love folly, and the scorners delight in their scorning, and fools hate knowledge? Turn ye at my reproof. Behold, I will pour out my spirit upon you, I will make known my words unto you." But upon being neglected, "Because I have called, and ye refused, I have stretched out

* Chap. i.

my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof: I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you. Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me." This passage, every one sees, is poetical, and some parts of it are highly figurative; but their meaning is obvious. And the thing intended is expressed more literally in the following words; "For that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord—therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices. For the security of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them." And the whole passage is so equally applicable, to what we experience in the present world, concerning the consequences of men's actions, and to what religion teaches us is to be expected in another, that it may be questioned which of the two was principally intended.

Indeed when one has been recollecting the proper proofs of a future state of rewards and punishments, nothing methinks can give one so sensible an apprehension of the latter, or representation of it to the mind; as observing, that after the many disregarded checks, admonitions

and warnings, which people meet with in the ways of vice and folly and extravagance; warnings from their very nature; from the examples of others; from the lesser inconveniences which they bring upon themselves; from the instructions of wise and virtuous men: after these have been long despised, scorned, ridiculed: after the chief bad consequences, temporal consequences, of their follies, have been delayed for a great while; at length they break in irresistibly, like an armed force: repentance is too late to relieve, and can serve only to aggravate their distress: the case is become desperate: and poverty and sickness, remorse and anguish, infamy and death, the effects of their own doings, overwhelm them, beyond possibility of remedy or escape. This is an account of what is in fact the general constitution of nature.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Moral Government of God.

Moral government consists, not barely in rewarding and punishing men for their actions, which the most tyrannical person may do: but in rewarding the righteous and punishing the wicked; in rendering to men according to their actions, considered as good or evil. And the perfection of moral government consists in doing this, with regard to all intelligent creatures, in an exact proportion to their personal merits or demerits.

The thing here to be inquired into therefore is, whether in the constitution and conduct of the world, a righteous government be not discernibly planned out: which necessarily implies a righteous governor.

But it is particularly to be observed, that the divine government, which we experience ourselves under in the present state, taken alone, is allowed not to be the perfection of moral government. And yet this by no means hinders, but that there may be somewhat, be it more or less, truly moral in it. A righteous government may plainly appear to be carried on to some degree: enough to give us the apprehension that it shall be completed, or carried on to that degree of perfection which reli-

gion teaches us it shall; but which cannot appear, till much more of the divine administration be seen, than can in the present life. And the design of this chapter is to inquire how far this is the case: how far the principles and beginnings of a moral government over the world may be discerned, notwithstanding and amidst all the confusion and disorder of it.

I. Tranquillity, satisfaction, and external advantages, being the natural consequences of prudent management of ourselves, and our affairs: and rashness, profligate negligence, and wilful folly, bringing after them many inconveniences and sufferings; these afford instances of a right constitution of nature: as the correction of children, for their own sakes, and by way of example, when they run into danger or hurt themselves, is a part of right education.

II. From the natural course of things, vicious actions are, to a great degree, actually punished as mischievous to society; and besides punishment actually inflicted upon this account, there is also the fear and apprehension of it in those persons, whose crimes have rendered them obnoxious to it, in case of a discovery; this state of fear being itself often a very considerable punishment. The natural fear and apprehension of it too, which restrains from such crimes, is a declaration of nature against them.

III. In the natural course of things, virtue *as*

such is actually rewarded, and vice *as such* punished: which seems to afford an instance or example, not only of government, but of moral government, begun and established; moral in the strictest sense; though not in that perfection of degree, which religion teaches us to expect. That inward feeling, which, respecting lesser matters, and in familiar speech, we call being vexed with oneself, and in matters of importance and in more serious language, remorse; is an uneasiness naturally arising from an action of a man's own, reflected upon by himself as wrong, unreasonable, faulty, *i. e.* vicious in greater or less degrees: and this manifestly is a different feeling from that uneasiness, which arises from a sense of mere loss or harm. On the other hand, inward security and peace, and a mind open to the several gratifications of life, are the natural attendants of innocence and virtue. To which must be added the complacency, satisfaction, and even joy of heart, which accompany the exercise, the real exercise, of gratitude, friendship, benevolence.

And here, I think, ought to be mentioned, the fears of future punishment and peaceful hopes of a better life, in those who fully believe, or have any serious apprehension of religion: because these hopes and fears are present uneasiness and satisfaction to the mind; and cannot be got rid of by great part of the world, even by men who have thought most thoroughly upon the subject of reli-

gion. And no one can say, how considerable this uneasiness and satisfaction may be, or what upon the whole it may amount to.

To all this may be added two or three particular things, which many persons will think frivolous; but to me, nothing appears so, which at all comes in towards determining a question of such importance, as, whether there be, or be not, a moral institution of government, in the strictest sense moral, *visibly* established and begun in nature. The particular things are these: that in domestic government, which is doubtless natural, children and others also are very generally punished for falsehood and injustice and ill-behaviour, as such, and rewarded for the contrary; which are instances where veracity, and justice, and right behaviour as such, are naturally enforced by rewards and punishments, whether more or less considerable in degree: that, though civil government be supposed to take cognizance of actions in no other view than as prejudicial to society, without respect to the immorality of them; yet as such actions are immoral, so the sense which men have of the immorality of them, very greatly contributes, in different ways, to bring offenders to justice: and, that entire absence of all crime and guilt in the moral sense, when plainly appearing, will almost of course procure, and circumstances of aggravated guilt prevent, a remission of the penalties annexed to civil crimes, in many cases, though by no means in all.

That God has given us a moral nature may most justly be urged as a proof of our being under his moral government: but that he has placed us in a condition, which gives this nature, as one may speak, scope to operate, and in which it does unavoidably operate; *i. e.* influence mankind to act, so as thus to favour and reward virtue, and discountenance and punish vice; this is not the same, but a further, additional proof of his moral government: for it is an instance of it. The first is a proof, that he will finally favour and support virtue effectually: the second is an example of his favouring and supporting it at present, in some degree.

Virtue, to borrow the Christian allusion, is militant here; and various untoward accidents contribute to its being often overborne: but it may combat with greater advantage hereafter, and prevail completely, and enjoy its consequent rewards, in some future states. Neglected as it is, perhaps unknown, perhaps despised and oppressed, here; there may be scenes in eternity, lasting enough, and in every other way adapted, to afford it a sufficient sphere of action; and a sufficient sphere for the natural consequences of it to follow in fact. If the soul be naturally immortal, and this state be a progress towards a future one, as childhood is towards mature age; good men may naturally unite, not only amongst themselves, but also with other orders of virtuous creatures, in that future state. For virtue, from the very nature of it, is a

principle and bond of union, in some degree, amongst all who are endued with it, and known to each other; so as that by it, a good man cannot but recommend himself to the favour and protection of all virtuous beings, throughout the whole universe, who can be acquainted with his character, and can any way interpose in his behalf in any part of his duration. If our notions of the plan of Providence were enlarged in any sort proportionably to what late discoveries have enlarged our views with respect to the material world; representations of this kind would not appear absurd or extravagant.

But let us return to the earth our habitation; and we shall see this happy tendency of virtue, by imagining an instance not so vast and remote: by supposing a kingdom or society of men upon it, perfectly virtuous for a succession of many ages; to which, if you please, may be given a situation advantageous for universal monarchy. In such a state, there would be no such thing as faction: but men of the greatest capacity would of course, all along, have the chief direction of affairs willingly yielded to them; and they would share it among themselves without envy. Each of these would have the part assigned him, to which his genius was peculiarly adapted: and others, who had not any distinguished genius, would be safe, and think themselves very happy, by being under the pro tection and guidance of those who had. Public

determinations would really be the result of the united wisdom of the community: and they would faithfully be executed, by the united strength of it. Some would in a higher way contribute, but all would in some way contribute, to the public prosperity: and in it, each would enjoy the fruits of his own virtue. And as injustice, whether by fraud or force, would be unknown among themselves; so they would be sufficiently secured from it in their neighbours. For cunning and false self-interest, confederacies in injustice, ever slight, and accompanied with faction and intestine treachery; these on one hand, would be found mere childish folly and weakness, when set in opposition against wisdom, public spirit, union inviolable, and fidelity, on the other: allowing both a sufficient length of years to try their force. Add the general influence, which such a kingdom would have over the face of the earth, by way of example particularly, and the reverence which would be paid it. It would plainly be superior to all others, and the world must gradually come under its empire; not by means of lawless violence; but partly by what must be allowed to be just conquest; and partly by other kingdoms submitting themselves voluntarily to it, throughout a course of ages, and claiming its protection, one after another, in successive exigencies. The head of it would be an universal monarch, in another sense than any mortal has yet been; and the eastern style would be literally applicable to

nim, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him. And though indeed our knowledge of human nature, and the whole history of mankind, show the impossibility, without some miraculous interposition, that a number of men, here on earth, should unite in one society or government, in the fear of God and universal practice of virtue; and that such a government should continue so united for a succession of ages: yet admitting or supposing this, the effect would be as now drawn out. And thus, for instance, the wonderful power and prosperity promised to the Jewish nation in the Scripture, would be, in a great measure, the consequence of what is predicted of them; that the people should be all righteous and inherit the land for ever*; were we to understand the latter phrase of a long continuance only, sufficient to give things time to work. The predictions of this kind, for there are many of them, cannot come to pass, in the present known course of nature; but suppose them come to pass, and then, the dominion and pre-eminence promised must naturally follow, to a very considerable degree.

The notion then of a moral scheme of government, much more perfect than what is seen, is not a fictitious, but a natural notion; for it is suggested to our thoughts, by the essential tendencies of virtue and vice. And these tendencies are to be considered as intimations, as implicit promises and

* Isaiah, lx. 21.

threatenings, from the Author of nature, of much greater rewards and punishments to follow virtue and vice, than do at present. And indeed, every natural tendency, which is to continue, but which is hindered from becoming effect by only accidental causes, affords a presumption, that such tendency will, some time or other, become effect; a presumption in degree proportionable to the length of the duration, through which such tendency will continue. And from these things together, arises a real presumption, that the moral scheme of government established in nature, shall be carried on much further towards perfection hereafter; and, I think, a presumption that it will be absolutely completed.

CHAPTER IV.

Of a State of Probation, as implying Trial, Difficulties, and Danger.

The general doctrine of religion, that our present life is a state of probation for a future one, comprehends under it several particular things, distinct from each other. But the first, and most common meaning of it seems to be, that our future interest is now depending upon ourselves; that we have scope and opportunities here, for that good and bad behaviour, which God will reward and punish hereafter; together with temptations to one, as well as inducements of reason to the other. And this is, in great measure, the same with saying, that we are under the moral government of God, and to give an account of our actions to him. For the notion of a future account and general righteous judgment, implies some sort of temptations to what is wrong: otherwise there would be no moral possibility of doing wrong, nor ground for judgment, or discrimination. But there is this difference, that the word *probation* is more distinctly and particularly expressive of allurements to wrong, or difficulties in adhering uniformly to what is right, and of the danger of

miscarrying by such temptations, than the words *moral government.*

As the moral government of God, which religion teaches us, implies that we are in a state of trial with regard to a future world; so also his natural government over us, implies, that we are in a state of trial, in the like sense, with regard to the present world. Natural government by rewards and punishments, as much implies natural trial, as moral government does moral trial. And so far as men have temptations to any course of action, which will probably occasion them greater temporal inconvenience and uneasiness, than satisfaction; so far their temporal interest is in danger from themselves, or they are in a state of trial with respect to it. Every one without having religion in his thoughts, speaks of the hazards which young people run, upon their setting out in the world; hazards from other causes, than merely their ignorance, and unavoidable accidents. And some courses of vice, at least, being contrary to men's worldly interest or good; temptations to these, must at the same time be temptations to forego our present and our future interest. Thus in our natural or temporal capacity, we are in a state of trial, *i. e.* of difficulty and danger, analogous, or like to our moral and religious trial.

And that which constitutes this our trial, in both these capacities, must be somewhat either in

our external circumstances, or in our nature. For, on the one hand, persons may be betrayed into wrong behaviour upon surprise, or overcome upon any other very singular and extraordinary external occasions; who would, otherwise, have preserved their character of prudence and of virtue; in which cases, every one, in speaking of the wrong behaviour of these persons, would impute it to such particular external circumstances. And on the other hand, men who have contracted habits of vice and folly of any kind, or have some particular passions in excess, will seek opportunities, and, as it were, go out of their way, to gratify themselves in these respects, at the expense of their wisdom and their virtue; led to it, as every one would say, not by external temptations, but by such habits and passions. However, as when we say, men are misled by external circumstances of temptation; it cannot but be understood, that there is somewhat within themselves, to render those circumstances temptations, or to render them susceptible of impressions from them: so when we say, they are misled by passions, it is always supposed, that there are occasions, circumstances, and objects exciting these passions, and affording means for gratifying them. And therefore, temptations from within, and from without, coincide, and mutually imply each other. Now the several external objects of the appetites, passions, and affections, being present to the

senses, or offering themselves to the mind, and so exciting emotions suitable to their nature; not only in cases where they can be gratified consistently with innocence and prudence, but also in cases where they cannot, and yet can be gratified imprudently and viciously; this as really puts them in danger of voluntarily foregoing their present interest or good, as their future; and as really renders self-denial as necessary to secure one, as the other: *i. e.* we are in a like state of trial with respect to both, by the very same passions, excited by the very same means. This is a description of our state of trial in our temporal capacity. Substitute now the word *future* for *temporal,* and *virtue* for *prudence;* and it will be just as proper a description of our state of trial in our religious capacity; so analogous are they to each other.

And to speak in the most moderate way, human creatures are not only continually liable to go wrong voluntarily, but we see likewise that they often actually do so, with respect to their temporal interests, as well as with respect to religion. Thus our difficulties and dangers, or our trials, in our temporal and our religious capacity, as they proceed from the same causes, and have the same effect upon men's behaviour, are evidently analogous, and of the same kind.

Indeed if mankind, considered in their natural capacity, as inhabitants of this world only, found

themselves, from their birth to their death, in a settled state of security and happiness, without any solicitude or thought of their own; or if they were in no danger of being brought into inconveniences and distress, by carelessness, or the folly of passion, through bad example, the treachery of others, or the deceitful appearances of things; were this our natural condition, then it might seem strange, and be some presumption against the truth of religion, that it represents our future and more general interest, as not secure of course, but as depending upon our behaviour, and requiring recollection and self-government to obtain it. For it might be alleged, "What you say is our condition in one respect, is not in any wise of a sort with what we find, by experience, our condition is in another. Our whole present interest is secured to our hands, without any solicitude of ours; and why should not our future interest, if we have any such, be so too?" But since, on the contrary, thought and consideration, the voluntary denying ourselves many things which we desire, and a course of behaviour, far from being always agreeable to us; are absolutely necessary to our acting even a common decent, and common prudent part, so as to pass with any satisfaction through the present world, and be received upon any tolerable good terms in it: since this is the case, all presumption against self-denial and attention being necessary to secure

our higher interest is removed. Our happiness and misery are trusted to our conduct, and made to depend upon it. Somewhat, and in many circumstances, a great deal too, is put upon us, either to do or to suffer, as we choose. And all the various miseries of life, which people bring upon themselves by negligence and folly, and might have avoided by proper care, are instances of this: which miseries are, beforehand, just as contingent and undetermined as their conduct, and left to be determined by it.

CHAPTER V.

Of a State of Probation, as intended for Moral Discipline and Improvement.

From the consideration of our being in a probation-state, of so much difficulty and hazard, naturally arises the question, how we came to be placed in it? But such a general inquiry as this, would be found involved in insuperable difficulties. Whether it be not beyond our faculties, not only to find out, but even to understand, the whole account of this; or, though we should be supposed capable of understanding it, yet, whether it would be of service or prejudice to us, to be informed of it, is impossible to say. But as our present condition can in no wise be shown inconsistent with the perfect moral government of God; so religion teaches us we were placed in it, that we might qualify ourselves, by the practice of virtue, for another state which is to follow it. Now the beginning of life, considered as an education for mature age in the present world, appears plainly, at first sight, analogous to this our trial for a future one: the former being in our temporal capacity, what the latter is in our religious capacity.

I. Every species of creatures, is we see, designed for a particular way of life; to which, the

nature, the capacities, temper, and qualifications, of each species, are as necessary as their external circumstances.

II. The constitution of human creatures, and indeed of all creatures which come under our notice, is such, as that they are capable of naturally becoming qualified for states of life, for which they were once wholly unqualified. We find ourselves in particular endued with capacities, not only of perceiving ideas, and of knowledge or perceiving truth, but also of storing up our ideas and knowledge by memory. We are capable, not only of acting, and of having different momentary impressions made upon us; but of getting a new facility in any kind of action, and of settled alterations in our temper or character. The power of the two last is the power of habits.

There are habits of perception, and habits of action. An instance of the former, is our constant and even involuntary readiness, in correcting the impressions of our sight concerning magnitudes and distances, so as to substitute judgment in the room of sensation imperceptibly to ourselves. And our readiness in speaking and writing, is an instance of the latter, of active habits. For distinctness, we may consider habits, as belonging to the body, or the mind: and the latter will be explained by the former. As habits belonging to the body are produced by external acts, so habits of the mind are produced by the exertion of inward practical

principles, *i. e.* by carrying them into act, or acting upon them; the principles of obedience, of veracity, justice, and charity. Habits of attention, industry, self-government, are in the same manner acquired by exercise; and habits of envy and revenge by indulgence, whether in outward act, or in thought and intention, *i. e.* inward act: for such intention is an act. Resolutions also to do well, are properly acts. But going over the theory of virtue in one's thoughts, talking well, and drawing fine pictures, of it: this is so far from necessarily or certainly conducing to form a habit of it, in him who thus employs himself, that it may harden the mind in a contrary course, and render it gradually more insensible; *i. e.* form a habit of insensibility, to all moral considerations. For, from our very faculty of habits, passive impressions, by being repeated, grow weaker. Thoughts, by often passing through the mind, are felt less sensibly; being accustomed to danger, begets intrepidity, *i. e.* lessens fear: to distress, lessens the passion of pity; to instances of others' mortality, lessens the sensible apprehension of our own. And from these two observations together: that practical habits are formed and strengthened by repeated acts, and that passive impressions grow weaker by being repeated upon us; it must follow, that active habits may be gradually forming and strengthening, by a course of acting upon such and such motives and excitements, whilst

these motives and excitements themselves are, by proportionable degrees, growing less sensible, *i. e.* are continually less and less sensibly felt, even as the active habits strengthen.

The three things just mentioned, may afford instances of it. Perception of danger is a natural excitement of passive fear, and active caution; and by being inured to danger, habits of the latter are gradually wrought, at the same time that the former gradually lessens. Perception of distress in others, is a natural excitement, passively to pity, and actively to relieve it; but let a man set himself to attend to, inquire out, and relieve distressed persons, and he cannot but grow less and less sensibly affected with the various miseries of life, with which he must become acquainted; when yet, at the same time, benevolence considered not as a passion, but as a practical principle of action, will strengthen: and whilst he passively compassionates the distressed less, he will acquire a greater aptitude actively to assist and befriend them. So also, at the same time that the daily instances of men's dying around us, give us daily a less sensible passive feeling or apprehension of our own mortality, such instances greatly contribute to the strengthening a practical regard to it in serious men; *i. e.*, to forming a habit of acting with a constant view to it.

The thing insisted upon is, not what may be possible, but what is in fact the appointment of

nature: which is, that active habits are to be formed by exercise. Their progress may be so gradual, as to be imperceptible in its steps: but the thing in general, that our nature is formed to yield, in some such manner as this, to use and exercise, is matter of certain experience. Thus, by accustoming ourselves to any course of action, we get an aptness to go on, a facility, readiness, and often pleasure in it. The inclinations which rendered us averse to it, grow weaker: the difficulties in it, not only the imaginary, but the real ones, lessen.

III. Indeed, we may be assured, that we should never have had these capacities of improving by experience, acquired knowledge, and habits, had they not been necessary, and intended to be made use of. Nature does in no wise qualify us wholly, much less at once, for a mature state of life. Even maturity of understanding and bodily strength, are not only arrived to gradually, but are also very much owing to the continued exercise of our powers of body and mind from infancy. But if we suppose a person brought into the world with both these in maturity, as far as this is conceivable; he would plainly at first be as unqualified for the human life of maturer age as an idiot. He would be in a manner distracted, with astonishment, and apprehension, and curiosity, and suspense; nor can one guess, how long it would be before he would be familiarized to himself and the objects about him, enough even to set himself

to any thing. It may be questioned, too, whether the natural information of his sight and hearing would be of any manner of use at all to him in acting, before experience. But then, as nature has endued us with a power of supplying those deficiencies, by acquired knowledge, experience, and habits, so likewise we are placed in a condition, in infancy, childhood, and youth, fitted for it; fitted for our acquiring those qualifications of all sorts, which we stand in need of in mature age. Thus the beginning of our days is adapted to be, and is, a state of education in the theory and practice of mature life. We are much assisted in it by example, instruction, and the care of others; but a great deal is left to ourselves to do. And our being placed in a state of discipline throughout this life for another world, is a providential disposition of things, exactly of the same kind, as our being placed in a state of discipline during childhood, for mature age. Our condition in both respects is uniform and of a piece, and comprehended under one and the same general law of nature.

IV. Take in the consideration, that the character of virtue and piety is a necessary qualification for the future state; and then we may distinctly see, how, and in what respects, the present life may be a preparation for it: since we want, and are capable of, improvement in that character, by moral and religious habits: and the pre-

sent life is fit to be a state of discipline for such improvement; in like manner, as we have already observed, how, and in what respects, infancy, childhood, and youth are a necessary preparation, and a natural state of discipline, for mature age.

Habits of virtue, thus acquired by discipline, are improvement in virtue: and improvement in virtue, must be advancement in happiness, if the government of the universe be moral.

From these things we may observe, how it comes to pass, that creatures made upright fall; and that those who preserve their uprightness, by so doing raise themselves to a more secure state of virtue. Now particular propensions *, from their very nature, must be felt, the objects of them being present; though they cannot be gratified at all, or not with the allowance of the moral principle. But if they can be gratified without its allowance, or by contradicting it; then they must be conceived to have some tendency, in how low a degree soever, yet some tendency, to induce persons to such forbidden gratification. This tendency, in some one particular propension, may be increased, by the greater frequency of occasions naturally exciting others. The least voluntary indulgence in forbidden circumstances, though but in thought, will increase this wrong tendency; and may increase it further, till, peculiar conjunctures perhaps conspiring, it becomes

* Propensities, or natural inclinations.

effect; and danger of deviating from right, ends in actual deviation from it: a danger necessarily arising from the very nature of propension; and which therefore could not have been prevented, though it might have been escaped, or got innocently through. The case would be, as if we were to suppose a strait path marked out for a person, in which such a degree of attention would keep him steady: but if he would not attend in this degree, any one of a thousand objects, catching his eye, might lead him out of it. Now it is impossible to say, how much, even the first full overt act of irregularity, might disorder the inward constitution; unsettle the adjustments, and alter the proportions, which formed it, and in which the uprightness of its make consisted: but repetition of irregularities would produce habits. And thus the constitution would be spoiled; and creatures made upright, become corrupt and depraved in their settled character, proportionably to their repeated irregularities in occasional acts. But on the contrary, these creatures might have improved and raised themselves, to a higher and more secure state of virtue, by the contrary behaviour: by steadily following the moral principle, supposed to be one part of their nature; and thus withstanding that unavoidable danger of defection*, which necessarily arose from propension, the other part of it. For, by thus preserving

* Falling away, apostacy.

their integrity for some time, their danger would lessen; since propensions by being inured to submit, would do it more easily and of course: and their security against this lessening danger would increase; since the moral principle would gain additional strength by exercise: both which things are implied in the notion of virtuous habits. Thus then, vicious indulgence is not only criminal in itself, but also depraves the inward constitution and character. And virtuous self-government, is not only right in itself, but also improves the inward constitution or character. And thus, it is plainly conceivable, that creatures without blemish, as they came out of the hands of God, may be in danger of going wrong; and so may stand in need of the security of virtuous habits, additional to the moral principle wrought into their natures by him. That which is the ground of their danger, or their want of security, may be considered as a deficiency in them, to which virtuous habits are the natural supply. And as they are naturally capable of being raised and improved by discipline, it may be a thing fit and requisite that they should be placed in circumstances with an eye to it: in circumstances peculiarly fitted to be, to them, a state of discipline for their improvement in virtue.

But how much more strongly must this hold with respect to those, who have corrupted their natures, are fallen from their original rectitude,

and whose passions are become excessive by repeated violations of their inward constitution? Upright creatures may want to be improved: depraved creatures want to be renewed.

That the present world does not actually become a state of moral discipline to many, even to the generality, *i. e.* that they do not improve or grow better in it, cannot be urged as a proof, that it was not intended for moral discipline, by any who at all observe the analogy of nature. For, of the numerous seeds of vegetables and bodies of animals, which are adapted and put in the way, to improve to such a point or state of natural maturity and perfection, we do not see, perhaps, that one in a million actually does. Far the greatest part of them decay before they are improved to it; and appear to be absolutely destroyed. Yet no one, who does not deny all final causes, will deny, that those seeds and bodies, which do attain to that point of maturity and perfection, answer the end for which they were really designed by nature; and therefore that nature designed them for such perfection. And I cannot forbear adding, though it is not to the present purpose, that the appearance of such an amazing waste in nature, with respect to these seeds and bodies, by foreign causes, is to us as unaccountable as, what is much more terrible, the present and future ruin of so many moral agents by themselves, *i. e.* by vice.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Opinion of Necessity, considered as influencing Practice.

The reader will observe that the question now before us is not absolute, whether the opinion of fate be reconcilable with religion; but hypothetical, whether, upon supposition of its being reconcilable with the constitution of nature, it be not reconcilable with religion also.

The assertion that every thing is by necessity of nature, is not an answer to the question, Whether the world came into being as it is, by an intelligent agent forming it thus, or not: but to quite another question; Whether it came into being as it is, in that way and manner which we call *necessarily*, or in that way and manner which we call *freely*. For suppose that one who was a fatalist, and one who kept to his natural sense of things, and believed himself a free agent, were disputing together, and vindicating their respective opinions; and they should happen to instance in a house: they would agree that it was built by an architect. Their difference concerning necessity and freedom, would occasion no difference of judgment concerning this; but only concerning another matter; whether the architect

built it necessarily or freely. We ascribe to God a necessary existence, uncaused by any agent. For we find within ourselves the idea of infinity, *i. e.* immensity and eternity, impossible, even in imagination, to be removed out of being. We seem to discern intuitively, that there must, and cannot but be, somewhat, external to ourselves, answering this idea, or the archetype of it. And from hence we conclude, that there is, and cannot but be, an infinite, and immense eternal Being, existing prior to all design contributing to his existence, and exclusive of it. And from the scantiness of language, a manner of speaking has been introduced; that necessity is the foundation, the reason, the account of the existence of God. But it is not alleged, nor can it be at all intended, that *every thing* exists as it does, by this kind of necessity; a necessity antecedent in nature to design: because it is admitted, that design, in the actions of men, contributes to many alterations in nature. For if any deny this, I shall not pretend to reason with them.

From these things it follows; first, That when a fatalist asserts, that every thing is by necessity, he must mean, *by an agent acting necessarily*; he must I say mean this, for I am very sensible he would not choose to mean it: and secondly, That the necessity, by which such an agent is supposed to act, does not exclude intelligence and design. So that, were the system of fatality admitted; it

would just as much account for the formation of the world, as for the structure of a house, and no more. Necessity as much requires and supposes a necessary agent, as freedom requires and supposes a free agent, to be the former of the world. And the appearances of design and of final causes in the constitution of nature, as really prove this acting agent, to be an intelligent designer, or to act from choice; upon the scheme of necessity, supposed possible, as upon that of freedom.

It appearing thus, that the notion of necessity does not destroy the proof, that there is an intelligent Author of nature and natural governor of the world; the present question, which the analogy before mentioned suggests, and which, I think, it will answer, is this: Whether the opinion of necessity, supposed consistent with possibility, with the constitution of the world, and the natural government which we experience exercised over it, destroys all reasonable ground of belief, that we are in a state of religion: or whether that opinion be reconcilable with religion; with the system, and the proof of it.

Suppose then a fatalist to educate any one, from his youth up, in his own principles; that the child should reason upon them, and conclude that since he cannot possibly behave otherwise than he does, he is not a subject of blame or commendation, nor can deserve to be rewarded or punished: imagine him to eradicate the very perceptions of

blame and commendation out of his mind, by means of this system; to form his temper, and character, and behaviour to it; and from it to judge of the treatment he was to expect, say, from reasonable men, upon his coming abroad into the world: as the fatalist judges from this system, what he is to expect from the Author of nature, and with regard to a future state. I cannot forbear stopping here to ask, whether any one of common sense would think fit, that a child should be put upon these speculations, and be left to apply them to practice. And a man has little pretence to reason, who is not sensible, that we are all children in speculations of this kind. However, the child would doubtless be highly delighted to find himself freed from the restraints of fear and shame, with which his play-fellows were fettered and embarrassed; and highly conceited in his superior knowledge, so far beyond his years. But conceit and vanity would be the least bad part of the influence, which these principles must have, when thus reasoned and acted upon, during the course of his education. He must either be allowed to go on and be the plague of all about him, and himself too, even to his own destruction; or else correction must be continually made use of, to supply the want of those natural perceptions of blame and commendation which we have supposed to be removed; and to give him a practical impression of what he had reasoned himself out of

the belief of, that he was in fact an accountable child, and to be punished for doing what he was forbid.

But supposing the child's temper could remain still formed to the system, and his expectation of the treatment he was to have in the world be regulated by it; so as to expect that no reasonable man would blame or punish him for any thing which he should do, because he could not help doing it: upon this supposition it is manifest he would, upon his coming abroad into the world, be insupportable to society, and the treatment which he would receive from it, would render it so to him; and he could not fail of doing somewhat, very soon, for which he would be delivered over into the hands of civil justice. And thus, in the end, he would be convinced of the obligations he was under to his wise instructor. Were this opinion therefore of necessity admitted to be ever so true; yet such is in fact our condition and the natural course of things, that whenever we apply it to life and practice, this application of it always misleads us, and cannot but mislead us, in a most dreadful manner, with regard to our present interest. And how can people think themselves so very secure then, that the same application of the same opinion may not mislead them also, in some analogous manner, with respect to a future, a more general, and more important interest? For, religion being a practical subject; and the

analogy of nature showing us, that we have not faculties to apply this opinion, were it a true one, to practical subjects; whenever we do apply it to the subject of religion, and thence conclude, that we are free from its obligations, it is plain this conclusion cannot be depended upon.

From the whole therefore it must follow, that a necessity supposed possible, and reconcilable with the constitution of things, does in no sort prove that the Author of nature will not, nor destroy the proof that he will, finally and upon the whole, in his eternal government, render his creatures happy or miserable, by some means or other, as they behave well or ill. Or, to express this conclusion in words conformable to the title of the Chapter, the analogy of nature shows us, that the opinion of necessity, considered as practical, is false. And if necessity, upon the supposition above mentioned, doth not destroy the proof of natural religion, it evidently makes no alteration in the proof of revealed.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Government of God, considered as a Scheme or Constitution, imperfectly comprehended.

The credibility, or the certain truth, of a matter of fact, does not immediately prove any thing concerning the wisdom or goodness of it: and analogy can do no more, immediately or directly, than show such and such things to be true or credible, considered only as matters of fact. But still, if, upon supposition of a moral constitution of nature and a moral government over it, analogy suggests and makes it credible, that this government must be a scheme, system, or constitution of government, as distinguished from a number of single unconnected acts of distributive justice and goodness; and likewise, that it must be a scheme, so imperfectly comprehended, and of such a sort in other respects, as to afford a direct general answer to all objections against the justice and goodness of it: then analogy is, remotely, of great service in answering those objections; both by suggesting the answer, and showing it to be a credible one. Now this, upon inquiry, will be found to be the case.

I. For the world, and the whole natural government of it, appears to be a scheme, system, or

constitution, whose parts correspond to each other, and to a whole; as really as any work of art, or as any particular model of a civil constitution and government. In this great scheme of the natural world, individuals have various peculiar relations to other individuals of their own species. And whole species, are, we find, variously related to other species, upon this earth. Nor do we know, how much further these kinds of relations may extend. And, as there is not any action or natural event, which we are acquainted with, so single and unconnected, as not to have a respect to some other actions and events; so possibly each of them, when it has not an immediate, may yet have a remote, natural relation to other actions and events, much beyond the compass of this present world. The natural world then, and natural government of it, being such an incomprehensible scheme; so incomprehensible, that a man must, really in the literal sense, know nothing at all, who is not sensible of his ignorance in it: this immediately suggests, and strongly shows the credibility, that the moral world and government of it may be so too. Indeed the natural and moral constitution and government of the world are so connected, as to make up together but one scheme: and it is highly probable, that the first is formed and carried on merely in subserviency to the latter; as the vegetable world is for the animal, and organized bodies for minds. Thus for

example: the determined length of time, and the degrees and ways, in which virtue is to remain in a state of warfare and discipline, and in which wickedness is permitted to have its progress; the times appointed for the execution of justice; the appointed instruments of it; the kinds of rewards and punishments, and the manners of their distribution; all particular instances of Divine justice and goodness, and every circumstance of them, may have such respects to each other, as to make up altogether a whole, connected and related in all its parts; a scheme or system, which is as properly one as the natural world is, and of the like kind. And supposing this to be the case; it is most evident, that we are not competent judges of this scheme, from the small parts of it, which come within our view in the present life: and therefore no objections against any of these parts, can be insisted upon by reasonable men.

From these things, it is easy to see distinctly, how our ignorance, as it is the common, is really a satisfactory answer, to all objections against the justice and goodness of Providence. If a man contemplating any one providential dispensation, which had no relation to any others, should object, that he discerned in it a disregard to justice, or a deficiency of goodness; nothing would be less an answer to such objection, than our ignorance in other parts of Providence, or in the possibilities of things, no way related to what he was contem-

plating. But when we know not, but the parts objected against may be relative to other parts unknown to us; and when we are unacquainted with what is, in the nature of the thing, practicable in the case before us; then our ignorance is a satisfactory answer; because, some unknown relation, or some unknown impossibility, may render what is objected against, just and good; nay good in the highest practicable degree.

II. As in the scheme of the natural world, no ends appear to be accomplished without means; so we find that means very undesirable, often conduce to bring about ends in such a measure desirable, as greatly to overbalance the disagreeableness of the means. Experience also shows many means to be conducive and necessary to accomplish ends, which means, before experience, we should have thought, would have had even a contrary tendency. Thus those things, which we call irregularities, may not be so at all: because they may be means of accomplishing wise and good ends more considerable.

But the answers given to the objections against religion, cannot equally be made use of to invalidate the proof of it. For, upon supposition that God exercises a moral government over the world, analogy does most strongly lead us to conclude, that this moral government must be a scheme, or constitution, beyond our comprehension. And a thousand particular analogies show

us, that parts of such a scheme, from their relation to other parts, may conduce to accomplish ends, which we should have thought, they had no tendency at all to accomplish; nay ends, which before experience, we should have thought such parts were contradictory to, and had a tendency to prevent. And therefore all these analogies show, that the way of arguing made use of in objecting against religion, is delusive: because they show it is not at all incredible, that, could we comprehend the whole, we should find the permission of the disorders objected against, to be consistent with justice and goodness; and even to be instances of them. Now this is not applicable to the proof of religion, as it is to the objections against it *; and therefore cannot invalidate that proof, as it does these objections.

* Serm. at the Rolls, p. 312. second edition.

CONCLUSION.

WHETHER we are, any way, related to the more distant parts of the boundless universe, into which we are brought, is altogether uncertain. But it is evident, that the course of things, which comes within our view, is connected with somewhat past, present, and future, beyond it. So that we are placed, as one may speak, in the middle of a scheme, not a fixed but a progressive one, every way incomprehensible; in a manner equally, with respect to what has been, what now is, and what shall be hereafter. And this scheme cannot but contain in it somewhat, as wonderful, and as much beyond our thought and conception*, as any thing in that of religion. For, will any man in his senses say, that it is less difficult to conceive, how the world came to be and to continue as it is, without, than with, an intelligent Author and Governor of it? or, admitting an intelligent Governor of it, that there is some other rule of government more natural, and of easier conception, than that which we call moral? Irrational creatures act their part, and enjoy and undergo the pleasures and the pains allotted them, without any reflection. But one would think it

* See Part 2. ch. ii.

impossible, that creatures endued with reason could avoid reflecting sometimes, if not from whence we came, yet at least, whither we are going: and what the mysterious scheme, in the midst of which we find ourselves, will, at length, come out, and produce: a scheme in which it is certain we are highly interested, and in which we may be interested even beyond conception. For many things prove it palpably absurd to conclude, that we shall cease to be, at death. Now all expectation of immortality, whether more or less certain, opens an unbounded prospect to our hopes and our fears: since we see the constitution of nature is such, as to admit of misery, as well as to be productive of happiness, and experience ourselves to partake of both in some degree; and since we cannot but know what higher degrees of both we are capable of.

A moral scheme of government is visibly established, and, in some degree, carried into execution; and this, together with the essential tendencies of virtue and vice duly considered, naturally raise in us an apprehension, that it will be carried on further towards perfection, in a future state, and that every one shall there receive according to his deserts. And if this be so, then our future and general interest, under the moral government of God, is appointed to depend upon our behaviour; notwithstanding the difficulty, which this may occasion, of securing it, and the

danger of losing it: just in the same manner as our temporal interest, under his natural government, is appointed to depend upon our behaviour; notwithstanding the like difficulty and danger. For, from our original constitution, and that of the world which we inhabit, we are naturally trusted with ourselves; with our own conduct and our own interest. And from the same constitution of nature, especially joined with that course of things which is owing to men, we have temptations to be unfaithful in this trust; to forfeit this interest, to neglect it, and run ourselves into misery and ruin. From these temptations arise, the difficulties of behaving so as to secure our temporal interest, and the hazard of behaving so as to miscarry in it. There is therefore nothing incredible in supposing, there may be the like difficulty and hazard with regard to that chief and final good, which religion lays before us.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

PART II.

OF REVEALED RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Importance of Christianity.

No revelation would have been given, had the light of nature been sufficient in such a sense as to render one not wanting and useless. But no man, in seriousness and simplicity of mind, can possibly think it so, who considers the state of religion in the heathen world, before revelation, and its present state in those places which have borrowed no light from it.

Now if God has given a revelation to mankind, and commanded those things, which are commanded in Christianity; it is evident, at first sight, that it cannot in anywise be an indifferent matter, whether we obey or disobey those commands; unless we are certainly assured, that we know all the reasons for them, and that all those reasons are now ceased, with regard to mankind in general, or to ourselves in particular. And it is absolutely impossible, we can be assured of this. For our

ignorance of these reasons proves nothing in the case; since the whole analogy of nature shows, what is indeed in itself evident, that there may be infinite reasons for things, with which we are not acquainted.

But the importance of Christianity will more distinctly appear, by considering it *First*, as a republication, and external institution of natural or essential religion, adapted to the present circumstances of mankind, and intended to promote natural piety and virtue: and *Secondly*, as containing an account of a dispensation of things, not discoverable by reason, in consequence of which, several distinct precepts are enjoined us.

I. Christianity is a republication of natural religion. It instructs mankind in the moral system of the world: that it is the work of an infinitely perfect Being, and under his government; that virtue is his law; and that he will finally judge mankind in righteousness, and render to all according to their works, in a future state. And, which is very material, it teaches natural religion, in its genuine simplicity; free from those superstitions, with which it was totally corrupted, and under which it was in a manner lost.

Revelation, is further, an authoritative publication of natural religion, and so affords the evidence of testimony for the truth of it. Indeed the miracles and prophecies recorded in Scripture, were intended to prove a particular dispensation of Pro-

vidence, the redemption of the world by the Messiah: but this does not hinder, but that they may also prove God's general providence over the world, as our moral governor and judge. And they evidently do prove it; because this character of the Author of nature, is necessarily connected with and implied in that particular revealed dispensation of things: it is likewise continually taught expressly, and insisted upon, by those persons, who wrought the miracles and delivered the prophecies. So that indeed natural religion seems as much proved by the Scripture revelation, as it would have been, had the design of revelation been nothing else than to prove it.

The law of Moses then, and the gospel of Christ, are authoritative publications of the religion of nature; they afford a proof of God's general providence, as moral governor of the world; as well as of his particular dispensations of providence towards sinful creatures, revealed in the law and the gospel. As they are the only evidence of the latter, so they are an additional evidence of the former.

Nor must it by any means be omitted, for it is a thing of the utmost importance, that life and immortality are eminently brought to light by the gospel. The great doctrines of a future state, the danger of a course of wickedness, and the efficacy of repentance, are not only confirmed in the gospel, but are taught, especially the last is, with

a degree of light, to which that of nature is but darkness.

Miraculous powers were given to the first preachers of Christianity, in order to their introducing it into the world: a visible church was established, in order to continue it, and carry it on successively throughout all ages. Had Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, only taught, and by miracles proved, religion to their contemporaries; the benefits of their instructions would have reached but to a small part of mankind. Christianity must have been, in a great degree, sunk and forgot in a very few ages. To prevent this, appears to have been one reason, why a visible church was instituted: to be, like a city upon a hill, a standing memorial to the world of the duty which we owe our Maker: to call men continually, both by example and instruction, to attend to it, and, by the form of religion, ever before their eyes, remind them of the reality: to be the repository of the oracles of God: to hold up the light of revelation in aid of that of nature, and propagate it throughout all generations to the end of the world—the light of revelation, considered here in no other view, than as designed to enforce natural religion. A visible church has also a further tendency to promote natural religion, as being an instituted method of education, originally intended to be of more peculiar advantage to those who would conform to it. For one end of the institution was,

that by admonition and reproof, as well as instruction; by a general regular discipline, and public exercises of religion; *the body of Christ*, as the Scripture speaks, should be *edified; i. e.* trained up in piety and virtue, for a higher and better state. This settlement then appearing thus beneficial; tending in the nature of the thing to answer, and in some degree actually answering, those ends; it is to be remembered, that the very notion of it implies positive institutions; for the visibility of the church consists in them. Take away every thing of this kind, and you lose the very notion itself. So that if the things now mentioned are advantages, the reason and importance of positive institutions in general, is most obvious; since without them, these advantages could not be secured to the world. And it is mere idle wantonness, to insist upon knowing the reasons, why such particular ones were fixed upon, rather than others.

II. But Christianity is to be considered in a further view; as containing an account of a dispensation of things, not at all discoverable by reason, in consequence of which several distinct precepts are enjoined us. Christianity is not only an external institution of natural religion, and a new promulgation of God's general providence, as righteous governor and judge of the world; but it contains also a revelation of a particular dispensation of Providence, carrying on by his Son and Spirit, for the recovery and salvation of mankind,

who are represented, in Scripture, to be in a state of ruin. And in consequence of this revelation being made, we are commanded *to be baptized*, not only *in the name of the Father*, but also, *of the Son and of the Holy Ghost:* and other obligations of duty, unknown before, to the Son and the Holy Ghost, are revealed. Now the importance of these duties may be judged of, by observing that they arise, not from positive command merely; but also from the offices, which appear, from Scripture, to belong to those divine persons in the gospel dispensation: or from the relations, which, we are there informed, they stand in to us. By reason is revealed the relation which God the Father stands in to us. Hence arises the obligation of duty, which we are under to him. In Scripture are revealed the relations, which the Son and Holy Spirit stand in to us. Hence arise the obligations of duty which we are under to them. The truth of the case, as one may speak, in each of these three respects being admitted: that God is the governor of the world, upon the evidence of reason: that Christ is the mediator between God and man, and the Holy Ghost our guide and sanctifier, upon the evidence of revelation: the truth of the case, I say, in each of these respects being admitted: it is no more a question, why it should be commanded that we be baptized in the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, than that we be baptized in the name of the Father

Let it be remembered then, that the essence of natural religion may be said to consist in religious regards to *God the Father Almighty:* and the essence of revealed religion, as distinguished from natural, to consist in religious regards to *the Son* and to *the Holy Ghost.* And the obligation we are under, of paying these religious regards to each of these divine persons respectively, arises from the respective relations, which they each stand in to us. The Son and Spirit have each his proper office, in that great dispensation of Providence, the redemption of the world: the one our Mediator, the other our Sanctifier. But it will be asked, "What are the inward religious regards, appearing thus obviously due to the Son and Holy Spirit; as arising, not merely from command in Scripture, but from the very nature of the revealed relations, which they stand in to us?" I answer, the religious regards of reverence, honour, love, trust, gratitude, fear, hope.

If therefore Christ be indeed the Mediator between God and man, *i. e.* if Christianity be true; if he be indeed our Lord, our Saviour, and our God; no one can say, what may follow, not only the obstinate, but the careless disregard to him, in those high relations. Nay no one can say, what may follow such disregard, even in the way of natural consequence.

Again: If mankind are corrupted and depraved in their moral character, and so are unfit for that state, which Christ is gone to prepare for his disciples; and if the assistance of God's Spirit be

necessary to renew their nature, in the degree requisite to their being qualified for that state; all which is implied in the express, though figurative declaration, 'Except a man be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God:' supposing this, is it possible any serious person can think it a slight matter, whether or no he makes use of the means, expressly commanded by God, for obtaining this divine assistance? especially since the whole analogy of nature shows, that we are not to expect any benefits, without making use of the appointed means for obtaining or enjoying them.

The conclusion from all this evidently is: that, Christianity being supposed either true or credible, it is unspeakable irreverence, and really the most presumptuous rashness, to treat it as a light matter. It can never justly be esteemed of little consequence, till it be positively supposed false. Nor do I know a higher and more important obligation which we are under, than that, of examining most seriously into the evidence of it, supposing its credibility; and of embracing it, upon supposition of its truth.

To these things I cannot forbear adding, that the account now given of Christianity, most strongly shows and enforces upon us the obligation of searching the Scriptures, in order to see, what the scheme of revelation really is; instead of determining beforehand, from reason, what the scheme of it must be.

CHAPTER II.

Of the supposed Presumption against a Revelation, considered as miraculous.

I. I find no appearance of a presumption, from the analogy of nature, against the general scheme of Christianity, that God created and invisibly governs the world by Jesus Christ; and by him also will hereafter judge it in righteousness, *i. e.* render to every one according to his works: and that good men are under the secret influence of his Spirit. If the analogy of nature raises any presumption against this general scheme of Christianity, it must be, either because it is not discoverable by reason or experience; or else, because it is unlike that course of nature, which is. But analogy raises no presumption against the truth of this scheme, upon either of these accounts.

First, There is no presumption, from analogy, against the truth of it, upon account of its not being discoverable by reason or experience. Whether the scheme of nature be, in the strictest sense, infinite or not, it is evidently vast, even beyond all possible imagination. And doubtless that part of it which is opened to our view, is but as a point, in comparison of the whole plan of

Providence, reaching throughout eternity past and future; in comparison of what is even now going on, in the remote parts of the boundless universe; nay in comparison of the whole scheme of this world. And therefore, that things lie beyond the natural reach of our faculties, is no sort of presumption against the truth and reality of them: because it is certain, there are innumerable things, in the constitution and government of the universe, which are thus beyond the natural reach of our faculties. Secondly, analogy raises no presumption, against any of the things contained in this general doctrine of Scripture now mentioned, upon account of their being unlike the known course of nature. For, in the constitution and natural government of the world, as well as in the moral government of it, we see things, in a great degree, unlike one another: and therefore ought not to wonder at such unlikeness between things visible and invisible.

II. There is no presumption, from analogy, against some operations, which we should now call miraculous; particularly none against a revelation at the beginning of the world: nothing of such presumption against it, as is supposed to be implied or expressed in the word, *miraculous*. For a miracle, in its very notion, is relative to a course of nature; and implies somewhat different from it, considered as being so. Now, either there was no course of nature at the time which

we are speaking of: or if there were, we are not acquainted what the course of nature is, upon the first peopling of worlds. And therefore the question, whether mankind had a revelation made to them at that time, is to be considered not as a question concerning a miracle, but as a common question of fact. And we have the like reason, be it more or less, to admit the report of tradition, concerning this question, and concerning common matters of fact of the same antiquity; for instance, what part of the earth was first peopled.

III. But still it may be objected, that there is some peculiar presumption, from analogy, against miracles: particularly against revelation, after the settlement and during the continuance of a course of nature.

Now with regard to this supposed presumption, it is to be observed in general; that before we can have ground for raising what can, with any propriety, be called an argument from analogy, for or against revelation considered as somewhat miraculous, we must be acquainted with a similar or parallel case. But the history of some other world, seemingly in like circumstances with our own, is no more than a parallel case; and therefore nothing short of this, can be so. Yet, could we come at a presumptive proof, for or against a revelation, from being informed, whether such world had one, or not; such a proof, being drawn from one single instance only, must be infinitely precarious.

But miracles must not be compared to common natural events; or to events which, though uncommon, are similar to what we daily experience: but to the extraordinary phenomena of nature. And then the comparison will be, between the presumption against miracles; and the presumption against such uncommon appearances, suppose, as comets, and against there being any such powers in nature as magnetism and electricity, so contrary to the properties of other bodies not endued with these powers. And before any one can determine, whether there be any peculiar presumption against miracles, more than against other extraordinary things; he must consider, what, upon first hearing, would be the presumption against the last-mentioned appearances and powers, to a person acquainted only with the daily, monthly, and annual, course of nature respecting this earth, and with those common powers of matter which we every day see.

CHAPTER III.

OF OUR INCAPACITY OF JUDGING, WHAT WERE TO BE EXPECTED IN A REVELATION; AND THE CREDIBILITY, FROM ANALOGY, THAT IT MUST CONTAIN THINGS APPEARING LIABLE TO OBJECTIONS.

THERE are persons, who think it a strong objection against the authority of Scripture, that it is not composed by rules of art, agreed upon by critics, for polite and correct writing. And the scorn is inexpressible, with which some of the prophetic parts of Scripture are treated: partly through the rashness of interpreters; but very much also, on account of the hieroglyphical and figurative language, in which they are left us. Upon supposition of a revelation, it is highly credible beforehand, we should be incompetent judges of it to a great degree: and that it would contain many things appearing to us liable to great objections; in case we judge of it otherwise, than by the analogy of nature. And therefore, though objections against the evidence of Christianity are most seriously to be considered; yet objections against Christianity itself are, in a great measure, frivolous. To make out this, is the general design of the present chapter. And with regard to the whole of it, I cannot but particularly wish, that

the proofs might be attended to; rather than the assertions cavilled at, upon account of any unacceptable consequences, whether real or supposed, which may be drawn from them. For, after all, that which is true, must be admitted, though it should show us the shortness of our faculties; and that we are in no wise judges of many things, of which we are apt to think ourselves very competent ones.

Now if the natural and the revealed dispensation of things are both from God, if they coincide with each other, and together make up one scheme of Providence: our being incompetent judges of one, must render it credible, that we may be incompetent judges also of the other. Since, upon experience, the acknowledged constitution and course of nature is found to be greatly different from what, before experience, would have been expected; and such as, men fancy, there lie great objections against: this renders it beforehand highly credible, that they may find the revealed dispensation likewise, if they judge of it as they do of the constitution of nature, very different from expectations formed beforehand; and liable in appearance, to great objections: objections against the scheme itself, and against the degrees and manners of the miraculous interpositions, by which it was attested and carried on. Thus suppose a prince to govern his dominions in the wisest manner possible, by common known laws;

and that upon some exigencies he should suspend these laws; and govern, in several instances, in a different manner: if one of his subjects were not a competent judge beforehand, by what common rules the government should or would be carried on; it could not be expected, that the same person would be a competent judge, in what exigencies, or in what manner, or to what degree, those laws commonly observed would be suspended or deviated from. If he were not a judge of the wisdom of the ordinary administration; there is no reason to think, he would be a judge of the wisdom of the extraordinary. If he thought he had objections against the former; doubtless, it is highly supposable, he might think also, that he had objections against the latter. And thus, as we fall into infinite follies and mistakes, whenever we pretend, otherwise than from experience and analogy, to judge of the constitution and course of nature; it is evidently supposable beforehand, that we should fall into as great, in pretending to judge, in the like manner, concerning revelation. Nor is there any more ground to expect that this latter should appear to us clear of objections, than that the former should. These observations, relating to the whole of Christianity, are applicable to inspiration in particular.

We know not beforehand, what degree or kind of natural information, it were to be expected God would afford men, each by his own reason and

experience: nor how far he would enable, and effectually dispose them to communicate it, whatever it should be, to each other: nor whether the evidence of it would be certain, highly probable, or doubtful; nor whether it would be given with equal clearness and conviction to all. Nor could we guess, upon any good ground I mean, whether natural knowledge, or even the faculty itself, by which we are capable of attaining it, reason, would be given us at once, or gradually. In like manner, we are wholly ignorant, what degree of new knowledge, it were to be expected, God would give mankind by revelation, upon supposition of his affording one: or how far, or in what way, he would interpose miraculously, to qualify them, to whom he should originally make the revelation, for communicating the knowledge given by it; and to secure their doing it to the age in which they should live; and to secure its being transmitted to posterity. We are equally ignorant whether the evidence of it would be certain, or highly probable, or doubtful*; or whether all who should have any degree of instruction from it, and any degree of evidence of its truth, would have the same: or whether the scheme would be revealed at once, or unfolded gradually. Nay we are not in any sort able to judge, whether it were to have been expected, that the revelation should have been committed to writing; or left to

* See Chap. vi.

be handed down, and consequently corrupted, by verbal tradition, and at length sunk under it.

And thus we see, that the only question concerning the truth of Christianity, is, whether it be a real revelation; not whether it be attended with every circumstance which we should have looked for: and concerning the authority of Scripture, whether it be what it claims to be; not whether it be a book of such sort, and so promulged, as weak men are apt to fancy, a book containing a divine revelation should. And therefore, neither obscurity, nor seeming inaccuracy of style, nor various readings, nor early disputes about the authors of particular parts; nor any other things of the like kind, though they had been much more considerable in degree than they are, could overthrow the authority of the Scripture: unless the prophets, apostles, or our Lord, had promised, that the book containing the divine revelation, should be secure from those things.

But it may be objected still further and more generally; "The Scripture represents the world as in a state of ruin, and Christianity as an expedient to recover it, to help in these respects where nature fails: in particular, to supply the deficiencies of natural light. Is it credible then, that so many ages should have been let pass, before a matter of such a sort, of so great and so general importance, was made known to mankind; and then that it should be made known to so small a

part of them? Is it conceivable, that this supply should be so very deficient, should have the like obscurity and doubtfulness, be liable to the like perversions, in short, lie open to all the like objections as the light of nature itself*?" Without determining how far this in fact is so, I answer; it is by no means incredible, that it might be so, if the light of nature and of revelation be from the same hand. Men are naturally liable to diseases: for which God, in his good providence, has provided natural remedies†. But remedies existing in nature, have been unknown to mankind for many ages; are known but to few now: probably many valuable ones are not known yet. Great has been and is the obscurity and difficulty in the nature and application of them. Circumstances seem often to make them very improper, where they are absolutely necessary. It is after long labour and study, and many unsuccessful endeavours, that they are brought to be as useful as they are; after high contempt and absolute rejection of the most useful we have; and after disputes and doubts, which have seemed to be endless. The best remedies too, when unskilfully, much more if dishonestly applied, may produce new diseases; and with the rightest application, the success of them is often doubtful. In many cases, they are not at all effectual: where they are, it is often very slowly: and the application

* Chap. vi. † See chap. v.

of them, and the necessary regimen accompanying it, is, not uncommonly, so disagreeable, that some will not submit to them; and satisfy themselves with the excuse, that if they would, it is not certain, whether it would be successful. And many persons, who labour under diseases, for which there are known natural remedies, are not so happy as to be always, if ever, in the way of them. In a word, the remedies which nature has provided for diseases, are neither certain, perfect, nor universal.

And now, what is the just consequence from all these things? Not that reason is no judge of what is offered to us as being of divine revelation. For, this would be to infer, that we are unable to judge of any thing, because we are unable to judge of all things. Reason can, and it ought to judge, not only of the meaning, but also of the morality and the evidence, of revelation. First, it is the province of reason to judge of the morality of the Scripture; *i. e.* not whether it contains things different from what we should have expected from a wise, just, and good Being; for objections from hence have been now obviated; but whether it contains things plainly contradictory to wisdom, justice, or goodness; to what the light of nature teaches us of God. And I know nothing of this sort objected against Scripture, excepting such objections as are formed on suppositions which would equally conclude,

that the constitution of nature is contradictory to wisdom, justice, or goodness: which most certainly it is not. Indeed there are some particular precepts in Scripture, given to particular persons, requiring actions, which would be immoral and vicious, were it not for such precepts. But it is easy to see, that all these are of such a kind, as that the precept changes the whole nature of the case and of the action: and both constitutes, and shows that not to be unjust or immoral, which, prior to the precept, must have appeared and really have been so. If it were commanded, to cultivate the principles, and act from the spirit of treachery, ingratitude, cruelty; the command would not alter the nature of the case or of the action, in any of these instances. But it is quite otherwise in precepts, which require only the doing an external action: for instance, taking away the property or life of any. For men have no right to either life or property, but what arises solely from the grant of God: when this grant is revoked, they cease to have any right at all, in either.

But the unreasonableness of this way of objecting, will appear yet more evidently from hence, that the chief things thus objected against, are justified, as shall be further shown*, by distinct, particular, and full analogies, in the constitution and course of nature.

* Chap. iv. latter part; and v. vi.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Christianity, considered as a Scheme or Constitution, imperfectly comprehended.

That which affords a sufficient answer to objections against the wisdom, justice, and goodness of the constitution of nature, is its being a constitution, a system or scheme, imperfectly comprehended; a scheme in which means are made use of to accomplish ends; and which is carried on by general laws. For from these things it has been proved, not only to be possible, but also to be credible, that those things which are objected against, may be consistent with wisdom, justice, and goodness; nay, may be instances of them: and even that the constitution and government of nature may be perfect in the highest possible degree. If Christianity then be a scheme, and of the like kind; it is evident, the like objections against it must admit of the like answer. And,

I. Christianity is a scheme, quite beyond our comprehension. The moral government of God is exercised, by gradually conducting things so in the course of his providence, that every one, at length and upon the whole, shall receive accord-

ing to his deserts; and neither fraud nor violence, but truth and right, shall finally prevail. Christianity is a particular scheme under this general plan of Providence, and a part of it, conducive to its completion, with regard to mankind: consisting itself also of various parts, and a mysterious economy, which has been carrying on from the time the world came into its present wretched state, and is still carrying on, for its recovery, by a divine person, the Messiah; who is to "gather together in one, the children of God, that are scattered abroad*," and establish "an everlasting kingdom, wherein dwelleth righteousness†." Now little, surely, need be said to show, that this system, or scheme of things, is but imperfectly comprehended by us. The Scripture expressly asserts it to be so. And indeed one cannot read a passage relating to this "great mystery of godliness‡," but what immediately runs up into something which shows us our ignorance in it; as every thing in nature shows us our ignorance in the constitution of nature. And whoever will seriously consider that part of the Christian scheme, which is revealed in Scripture, will find so much more unrevealed, as will convince him, that, to all the purposes of judging, and objecting, we know as little of it as of the constitution of nature. Our ignorance, therefore, is as much an

* John xi. 52. † 2 Pet. iii. 13.
‡ 1 Tim. iii. 16.

answer to our objections against the perfection of one, as against the perfection of the other.

II. It is obvious too, that in the Christian dispensation, as much as in the natural scheme of things, means are made use of to accomplish ends. And the observation of this furnishes us with the same answer, to objections against the perfection of Christianity, as to objections of the like kind, against the constitution of nature. It shows the credibility, that the things objected against, how *foolish** soever they appear to men, may be the very best means of accomplishing the very best ends. And their appearing *foolishness* is no presumption against this, in a scheme so greatly beyond our comprehension.

III. The credibility, that the Christian dispensation may have been, all along, carried on by general laws, no less than the course of nature, may require to be more distinctly made out. We know indeed several of the general laws of matter: and a great part of the natural behaviour of living agents, is reducible to general laws. But we know in a manner nothing, by what laws, storms and tempests, earthquakes, famine, pestilence, become the instruments of destruction to mankind. And the laws, by which persons born into the world at such a time and place, are of such capacities, geniuses, tempers; the laws, by which thoughts come into our mind, in a multi-

* 1 Cor. i.

tude of cases; and by which innumerable things happen, of the greatest influence upon the affairs and state of the world; these laws are so wholly unknown to us, that we call the events which come to pass by them, accidental: though all reasonable men know certainly, that there cannot, in reality, be any such thing as chance: and conclude, that the things which have this appearance are the result of general laws, and may be reduced into them. It is then but an exceeding little way, and in but a very few respects, that we can trace up the natural course of things before us, to general laws. Thus, that miraculous powers should be exerted, at such times, upon such occasions, in such degrees and manners, and with regard to such persons, rather than others; that the affairs of the world, being permitted to go on in their natural course so far, should, just at such a point, have a new direction given them by miraculous interpositions; that these interpositions should be exactly in such degrees and respects only; all this may have been by general laws. These laws are unknown indeed to us: but no more unknown, than the laws from whence it is, that some die as soon as they are born, and others live to extreme old age; that one man is so superior to another in understanding; with innumerable more things, which, as was before observed, we cannot reduce to any laws or rules at all, though it is taken for granted, they

are as much reducible to general ones, as gravitation.

Upon the whole then: the appearance of deficiencies and irregularities in nature, is owing to its being a scheme but in part made known, and of such a certain particular kind in other respects. Now we see no more reason, why the frame and course of nature should be such a scheme, than why Christianity should. And that the former is such a scheme, renders it credible, that the latter, upon supposition of its truth, may be so too. And as it is manifest, that Christianity is a scheme revealed but in part, and a scheme in which means are made use of to accomplish ends; like to that of nature: so the credibility, that it may have been all along carried on by general laws, no less than the course of nature, has been distinctly proved.

For thus much is manifest, that the whole natural world and government of it is a scheme or system; not a fixed, but a progressive one: a scheme, in which the operation of various means takes up a great length of time, before the ends they tend to can be attained. The change of seasons, the ripening of the fruits of the earth, the very history of a flower, is an instance of this: and so is human life. Thus vegetable bodies, and those of animals, though possibly formed at once, yet grow up by degrees to a mature state. And thus rational agents, who animate these latter

bodies, are naturally directed to form, each his own manners and character, by the gradual gaining of knowledge and experience, and by a long course of action. Our existence is not only successive, as it must be of necessity; but one state of our life and being is appointed by God, to be a preparation for another; and that, to be the means of attaining to another succeeding one: infancy to childhood; childhood to youth; youth to mature age. Men are impatient, and for precipitating things: but the Author of nature appears deliberate throughout his operations; accomplishing his natural ends, by slow successive steps. And there is a plan of things beforehand laid out, which, from the nature of it, requires various systems of means, as well as length of time, in order to the carrying on its several parts into execution. Thus, in the daily course of natural Providence, God operates in the very same manner, as in the dispensation of Christianity: making one thing subservient to another; this, to somewhat further; and so on, through a progressive series of means, which extend, both backward and forward, beyond our utmost view. Of this manner of operation, every thing we see in the course of nature, is as much an instance, as any part of the Christian dispensation.

CHAPTER V.

Of the particular System of Christianity; the Appointment of a Mediator, and the Redemption of the World by him.

I. The whole analogy of nature removes all imagined presumption against the general notion of *a Mediator between God and man**. For we find all living creatures are brought into the world, and their life in infancy is preserved, by the instrumentality of others; and every satisfaction of it, some way or other, is bestowed by the like means. So that the visible government, which God exercises over the world, is by the instrumentality and mediation of others. And how far his invisible government be or be not so, it is impossible to determine at all by reason. And the supposition, that part of it is so, appears, to say the least, altogether as credible, as the contrary. There is then, no sort of objection, from the light of nature, against the general notion of a mediator between God and man, considered as a doctrine of Christianity, or as an apointment in this dispensation, since we find by experience, that God does appoint mediators, to be the instruments of good and evil to us; the instruments of his justice and his mercy.

* 1 Tim. ii. 5.

II. As we must suppose, that the world is under the proper moral government of God, or in a state of religion, before we can enter into consideration of the revealed doctrine, concerning the redemption of it by Christ; so that supposition is here to be distinctly taken notice of. There is no absurdity in supposing future punishment may follow wickedness of course, as we speak, or in the way of natural consequence from God's original constitution of the world; from the nature he has given us, and from the condition in which he places us; in like manner, as a person rashly trifling upon a precipice, in the way of natural consequence, falls down; in the way of natural consequence, breaks his limbs, suppose; in the way of natural consequence of this, without help, perishes. But when things come to pass according to the course of nature, this does not hinder them from being his doing, who is the God of nature: and the Scripture ascribes those punishments to divine justice, which are known to be natural; and which must be called so, when distinguished from such as are miraculous.

III. We may observe, in the constitution of nature or appointments of Providence, the provision which is made, that all the bad natural consequences of men's actions, should not always actually follow; or that such bad consequences, as, according to the settled course of things, would inevitably have followed if not prevented, should,

in certain degrees be prevented. Thus, all the bad consequences now mentioned, of a man's trifling upon a precipice, might be prevented. And though all were not, yet some of them might, by proper interposition, if not rejected: by another's coming to the rash man's relief, with his own laying hold on that relief, in such sort as the case required. Persons may do a great deal themselves, towards preventing the bad consequences of their follies: and more may be done by themselves, together with the assistance of others their fellow-creatures; which assistance nature requires, and prompts us to. But, as provision is made by nature, that we may and do, to so great degree, prevent the bad natural effects of our follies; this may be called mercy, or compassion, in the original constitution of the world: compassion as distinguished from goodness in general. And, the whole known constitution and course of things affording us instances of such compassion, it would be according to the analogy of nature, to hope, that, however ruinous the natural consequences of vice might be, from the general laws of God's government over the universe; yet provision might be made, possibly might have been originally made, for preventing those ruinous consequences from inevitably following: at least from following universally, and in all cases.

IV. There seems no probability, however, that any thing we could do, would alone and of itself

prevent them: prevent their following, or being inflicted. But one would think, at least, it were impossible, that the contrary should be thought certain. For we are not acquainted with the whole of the case. Our ignorance therefore being thus manifest, let us recollect the analogy of nature or Providence.

Consider, then: people ruin their fortunes by extravagance; they bring diseases upon themselves by excess; they incur the penalties of civil laws; and surely civil government is natural: will sorrow for these follies past, and behaving well for the future, alone and of itself, prevent the natural consequences of them? On the contrary, men's natural abilities of helping themselves are often impaired: or if not, yet they are forced to be beholden to the assistance of others, upon several accounts, and in different ways; assistance which they would have had no occasion for, had it not been for their misconduct: but which, in the disadvantageous condition they have reduced themselves to, is absolutely necessary to their recovery, and retrieving their affairs. Now since this is our case, considering ourselves merely as inhabitants of this world, and as having a temporal interest here, under the natural government of God, which however has a great deal moral in it: why is it not supposable that this may be our case also, in our more important capacity, as under his perfect moral government, and having a more general and

future interest depending? If we have misbehaved in this higher capacity, and rendered ourselves obnoxious to the future punishment which God has annexed to vice: it is plainly credible, that behaving well for the time to come, may be—not useless, God forbid—but wholly insufficient, alone and of itself, to prevent that punishment; or to put us in the condition, which we should have been in, had we preserved our innocence.

And though we ought to reason with all reverence, whenever we reason concerning the divine conduct; yet it may be added, that it is clearly contrary to all our notions of government, as well as to what is, in fact, the general constitution of nature, to suppose that doing well for the future, should, in all cases, prevent all the judicial bad consequences of having done evil, or all the punishment annexed to disobedience. And we have manifestly nothing from whence to determine, in what degree, and in what cases, reformation would prevent this punishment, even supposing that it would in some. And though the efficacy of repentance itself alone, to prevent what mankind had rendered themselves obnoxious to, and recover what they had forfeited, is now insisted upon, in opposition to Christianity; yet, by the general prevalence of propitiatory sacrifices over the heathen world, this notion, of repentance alone being sufficient to expiate guilt, appears to be contrary to the general sense of mankind.

V. In this darkness, or this light of nature, call it which you please, revelation comes in; confirms every doubting fear, which could enter into the heart of man concerning the future unprevented consequence of wickedness; supposes the world to be in a state of ruin: (a supposition which seems the very ground of the Christian dispensation, and which, if not provable by reason, yet it is in no wise contrary to it;) teaches us too, that the rules of divine government are such, as not to admit of pardon immediately and directly upon repentance, or by the sole efficacy of it: but then teaches at the same time, that the unknown laws of God's more general government, no less than the particular laws by which we experience he governs us at present, are compassionate, as well as good in the more general notion of goodness: and that he hath mercifully provided, that there should be an interposition to prevent the destruction of human kind; whatever that destruction unprevented would have been. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth,' not to be sure, in a speculative, but in a practical sense, that 'whosoever believeth in him, should not perish*:' gave his Son in the same way of goodness to the world, as he affords particular persons the friendly assistance of their fellow-creatures; when, without it, their temporal ruin would be the certain consequence of

* John iii. 16.

their follies: in the same way of goodness, I say; though in a transcendent and infinitely higher degree. And the Son of God 'loved us and gave himself for us,' with a love, which he himself compares to that of human friendship: though, in this case, all comparisons must fall infinitely short of the thing intended to be illustrated by them. He interposed in such a manner as was necessary and effectual to prevent that execution of justice upon sinners, which God had appointed should otherwise have been executed upon them, or in such a manner as to prevent that punishment from actually following, which, according to the general laws of divine government, must have followed the sins of the world, had it not been for such interposition.

But still it may be thought, that this whole manner of treating the subject before us, supposes mankind to be naturally in a very strange state. And truly so it does. But it is not Christianity, which has put us into this state. Whoever will consider the manifold miseries, and the extreme wickedness of the world; that the best have great wrongnesses within themselves, which they complain of, and endeavour to amend; but that the generality grow more profligate and corrupt with age; that even moralists thought the present state to be a state of punishment: and, what might be added, that the earth our habitation has the appearances of being a ruin: whoever, I say, will consi-

der all these,' and some other obvious things, will think he has little reason to object against the Scripture account, that mankind is in a state of degradation; against this being the fact: how difficult soever he may think it to account for, or even to form a distinct conception of the occasions and circumstances of it. But that the crime of our first parents was the occasion of our being placed in a more disadvantageous condition, is a thing throughout and particularly analogous to what we see, in the daily course of natural Providence; as the recovery of the world, by the interposition of Christ, has been shown to be so in general.

VI. The particular manner in which Christ interposed in the redemption of the world, or his office as 'Mediator,' in the largest sense, 'between God and man,' is thus represented to us in the Scripture; 'He is the light of the world[1];' the revealer of the will of God in the most eminent sense. He is a propitiatory sacrifice[2]; 'the Lamb of God[3]:' and, as he voluntarily offered himself up, he is styled our High-priest[4]. And, which seems of peculiar weight, he is described beforehand in the Old Testament, under the same cha-

[1] John i., viii. 12.

[2] Rom. iii. 25; v. 11; 1 Cor. v. 7; Eph. v. 2; 1 John ii. 2; Matt. xxvi. 28.

[3] John i. 29, 36, and throughout the Book of Revelation.

[4] Throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews.

racters of a priest, and an expiatory victim[1]. And whereas, it is objected, that all this is merely by way of allusion to the sacrifices of the Mosaic law, the apostle on the contrary, affirms, that the law was a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things[2]: and that the "priests that offer gifts according to the law—serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God, when he was about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith he, that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount[3];" *i. e.*, the levitical priesthood was a shadow of the priesthood of Christ; in like manner, as the tabernacle made by Moses, was according to that showed him in the mount. The priesthood of Christ, and the tabernacle in the mount, were the originals; of the former of which, the Levitical priesthood was a type; and of the latter, the tabernacle made by Moses was a copy. The doctrine of this epistle then plainly is, that the legal sacrifices were allusions to the great and final atonement to be made by the blood of Christ; and not that this was an allusion to those. Nor can any thing be more express or determinate, than the following passage. "It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin. Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, sacrifice and offering,"

[1] Is. liii.; Dan. ix. 24; Ps. cx. 4. [2] Heb. x. 1.
[3] Heb. viii. 4, 5.

i. e., of bulls and of goats, "thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me.——Lo I come to do thy will, O God.——By which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all [1]."

Nor do the inspired writers at all confine themselves to this manner of speaking concerning the satisfaction of Christ; but declare an efficacy in what he did and suffered for us, additional to and beyond mere instruction, example and government, in great variety of expression: "that Jesus should die for that nation," the Jews: "and not for that nation only, but that also," plainly by the efficacy of his death, "he should gather together in one, the children of God that were scattered abroad [2]:" that "he suffered for sins, the just for the unjust [3]:" that "he gave his life, himself, a ransom [4]:" that "we are bought, bought with a price [5]:" that "he redeemed us with his blood; redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us [6]:" that he is our "advocate, intercessor, and propitiation [7]:" that "he was made perfect," or consummate, "through sufferings; and being" thus "made perfect, he became the author of salvation [8]:" that

[1] Heb. x. 4, 5, 7, 9, 10.
[2] John, xi. 51, 52. [3] 1 Pet. iii. 18.
[4] Matt. xx. 28; Mark, x. 45; 1 Tim. ii. 6.
[5] 2 Pet. ii. 1; Rev. xiv. 4; 1 Cor. vi. 20.
[6] 1 Pet. i. 19; Rev. v. 9; Gal. iii. 13.
[7] Heb. vii, 25; 1 John, ii. 1, 2. [8] Heb. ii. 10; v. 9.

"God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself; by the death of his Son, by the cross; not imputing their trespasses unto them[1]:" and lastly, that "through death he destroyed him that had the power of death[2]." Christ then having thus "humbled himself, and become obedient to death, even the death of the cross; God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: hath given all things into his hands: hath committed all judgment unto him; that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father[3]." For, "worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, heard I, saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever[4]."

These passages of Scripture seem to comprehend and express the chief parts of Christ's office, as Mediator between God and man, so far, I mean, as the nature of this his office is revealed; and it is usually treated of by divines under three heads.

First, He was, by way of eminence, the pro-

[1] 2 Cor. v. 19; Rom. v. 10; Eph. ii. 16.

[2] Heb. ii. 14; see also a remarkable passage in the Book of Job, xxxiii. 24.

[3] Phil. ii. 8, 9; John, iii. 35; v. 22, 23.

[4] Rev. v. 12, 13.

phet: "that prophet that shall come into the world *, to declare the divine will. He published anew the law of nature, which men had corrupted; and the very knowledge of which, to some degree, was lost among them. He taught mankind, authoritatively, to "live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world," in expectation of the future judgment of God. He confirmed the truth of this moral system of nature, and gave us additional evidence of it; the evidence of testimony. He distinctly revealed the manner, in which God would be worshipped, the efficacy of repentance, and the rewards and punishments of a future life. Thus he was a prophet in a sense, in which no other ever was. To which is to be added, that he set us a perfect "example, that we should follow his steps."

Secondly, He has a "kingdom which is not of this world." He founded a church, to be to mankind a standing memorial of religion, and invitation to it; which he promised to be with always even to the end. He exercises an invisible government over it, himself, and by his Spirit: over that part of it, which is militant here on earth, a government of discipline, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying his body; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature

* John, vi. 14.

of the fulness of Christ*." Of this church, all persons scattered over the world, who live in obedience to his laws, are members. For these he is "gone to prepare a place," and "will come again to receive them unto himself, that where he is, there they may be also; and reign with him for ever and ever†:" and likewise "to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not his Gospel‡."

Lastly, Christ offered himself a propitiatory sacrifice, and made atonement for the sins of the world: which is mentioned last, in regard to what is objected against it. Sacrifices of expiation were commanded the Jews, and obtained amongst most other nations, from tradition, whose original probably was revelation. And they were continually repeated, both occasionally, and at the returns of stated times; and made up great part of the external religion of mankind. "But now once in the end of the world Christ appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself §." And this sacrifice was in the highest degree and with the most extensive influence, of that efficacy for obtaining pardon of sin, which the heathens may be supposed to have thought their sacrifices to have been, and which the Jewish sacrifices really were in some degree, and with regard to some persons.

* Eph. iv. 12, 13. † John, xiv. 2, 3; Rev. iii. 21. xi. 15.
‡ 2 Thes. i. 8. § Heb. ix. 26.

How and in what particular way it had this efficacy, there are not wanting persons who have endeavoured to explain: but I do not find that the Scripture has explained it. And if the Scripture has, as surely it has, left this matter of the satisfaction of Christ mysterious, left somewhat in it unrevealed, all conjectures about it must be, if not evidently absurd, yet at least uncertain. Nor has any one reason to complain for want of further information, unless he can show his claim to it.

Some have endeavoured to explain the efficacy of what Christ has done and suffered for us, beyond what the Scripture has authorized: others, probably because they could not explain it, have been for taking it away, and confining his office as Redeemer of the world to his instruction, example, and government of the church. Whereas the doctrine of the gospel appears to be; not only that he taught the efficacy of repentance, but rendered it of the efficacy which it is:—not only that he revealed to sinners, that they were in a capacity of salvation, and how they might obtain it; but moreover that he put them into this capacity of salvation, by what he did and suffered for them; put us into a capacity of escaping future punishment, and obtaining future happiness. And it is our wisdom thankfully to accept the benefit, by performing the conditions, upon which it is offered, on our part, without disputing how it was procured, on his.

It is indeed a matter of great patience to reasonable men, to find people objecting against the credibility of such particular things revealed in Scripture, that they do not see the necessity or expediency of them. For though it is highly right, and the most pious exercise of our understanding, to inquire with due reverence into the ends and reasons of God's dispensations: yet when those reasons are concealed, to argue from our ignorance, that such dispensations cannot be from God, is infinitely absurd. The presumption of this kind of objections, seems almost lost in the folly of them. And the folly of them is yet greater, when they are urged, as usually they are, against things in Christianity analogous or like to those natural dispensations of Providence, which are matter of experience. Let reason be kept to, but let not such poor creatures as we, go on objecting against an infinite scheme, that we do not see the necessity or usefulness of all its parts, and call this reasoning.

The whole analogy of nature, should teach us, not to expect to have the like information concerning the Divine conduct, as concerning our own duty. God instructs us by experience, what good or bad consequences will follow from our acting in such and such manners: and by this he directs us, how we are to behave ourselves. But, though we are sufficiently instructed for the common purposes of life; yet it is but an almost infi-

nitely small part of natural providence, which we are at all let into. The case is the same with regard to revelation. The doctrine of a Mediator between God and man, against which it is objected, that the expediency of some things in it is not understood, relates only to what was done on God's part in the appointment, and on the Mediator's in the execution of it. For what is required of us, in consequence of this gracious dispensation, is another subject, in which none can complain for want of information. The constitution of the world, and God's natural government over it, is all mystery, as much as the Christian dispensation. Yet under the first, he has given men all things pertaining to life; and under the other, all things pertaining unto godliness. And it may be added, that there is nothing hard to be accounted for in any of the common precepts of Christianity: though if there were, surely, a divine command is abundantly sufficient to lay us under the strongest obligations to obedience.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Want of Universality in Revelation: and of the supposed Deficiency in the Proof of it.

It has been thought by some persons, that if the evidence of revelation appears doubtful, this itself turns into a positive argument against it; because it cannot be supposed, that, if it were true, it would be left to subsist upon doubtful evidence. And the objection against revelation from its not being universal, is often insisted upon as of great weight.

Now the weakness of these opinions may be shown, by observing the suppositions on which they are founded: which are really such as these: that it cannot be thought God would have bestowed any favour at all upon us, unless in the degree, which, we think, he might, and which, we imagine, would be most to our particular advantage; and also that it cannot be thought he would bestow a favour upon any, unless he bestowed the same upon all: suppositions which we find contradicted, not by a few instances in God's natural government of the world, but by the general analogy of nature together.

Persons who speak of the evidence of religion as doubtful, and of this supposed doubtfulness as a

positive argument against it, should be put upon considering, what that evidence indeed is, which they act upon with regard to their temporal interests. For, it is not only extremely difficult, but in many cases, absolutely impossible, to balance pleasure and pain, satisfaction and uneasiness, so as to be able to say, on which side the overplus is. Hence arises that great uncertainty and doubtfulness of proof, wherein our temporal interest really consists: what are the most probable means of attaining it; and whether those means will eventually be successful. Then those who think the objection against revelation, from its light not being universal, to be of weight, should observe, that the Author of nature, in numberless instances, bestows that upon some, which he does not upon others, who seem equally to stand in need of it. Indeed he appears to bestow all his gifts with the most promiscuous variety among creatures of the same species: health and strength, capacities of prudence and of knowledge, means of improvement, riches, and all external advantages. And as there are not any two men found, of exactly like shape and features: so it is probable there are not any two, of an exactly like constitution, temper, and situation, with regard to the goods and evils of life. Yet, notwithstanding these uncertainties and varieties, God does exercise a natural government over the world: and there is such a thing as a prudent and imprudent institu-

tion of life, with regard to our health and our affairs, under that his natural government.

As neither the Jewish nor Christian revelation have been universal; and as they have been afforded to a greater or a less part of the world, at different times; so likewise at different times, both revelations have had different degrees of evidence. The Jews who lived during the succession of prophets, that is, from Moses till after the captivity, had higher evidence of the truth of their religion, than those had, who lived in the interval between the last-mentioned period, and the coming of Christ. And the first Christians had higher evidence of the miracles wrought in attestation of Christianity, than what we have now. They had also a strong presumptive proof of the truth of it, perhaps of much greater force, in way of argument, than many think, of which we have very little remaining; I mean the presumptive proof of its truth, from the influence which it had upon the lives of the generality of its prot ssors. And we, or future ages, may possibly have a proof of it, which they could not have, from the conformity between the prophetic history, and the state of the world and of Christianity. And further: if we put the case, that for the present, it was intended, revelation should be no more than a small light, in the midst of a world greatly overspread, notwithstanding it, with ignorance and darkness: that certain glimmerings of this light

should extend, and be directed, to remote distances, in such a manner as that those who really partook of it, should not discern from whence it originally came: that some in a nearer situation to it, should have its light obscured, and, in different ways and degrees, intercepted: and that others should be placed within its clearer influence, and be much more enlivened, cheered and directed by it; but yet that even to these, it should be no more than 'a light shining in a dark place:' all this would be perfectly uniform and of a piece with the conduct of Providence, in the distribution of its other blessings. If the fact of the case really were, that some have received no light at all from the Scripture; as many ages and countries in the heathen world: that others, though they have, by means of it, had essential or natural religion enforced upon their consciences, yet have never had the genuine Scripture revelation, with its real evidence, proposed to their consideration; and the ancient Persians and modern Mahometans, may possibly be instances of people in a situation somewhat like to this: that others, though they have had the Scripture laid before them as of divine revelation, yet have had it with the system and evidence of Christianity so interpolated, the system so corrupted, the evidence so blended with false miracles, as to leave the mind in the utmost doubtfulness and uncertainty about the whole; which may be the state of some thoughtful men,

in most of those nations who call themselves Christian: and lastly, that others have had Christianity offered to them in its genuine simplicity, and with its proper evidence, as persons in countries and churches of civil and of Christian liberty; but however that even these persons are left in great ignorance in many respects, and have by no means light afforded them enough to satisfy their curiosity, but only to regulate their life, to teach them their duty, and encourage them in the careful discharge of it: I say, if we were to suppose this somewhat of a general true account of the degrees of moral and religious light and evidence, which were intended to be afforded mankind, and of what has actually been and is their situation, in their moral and religious capacity; there would be nothing in all this ignorance, doubtfulness, and uncertainty, in all these varieties, and supposed disadvantages of some in comparison of others, respecting religion, but may be paralleled by manifest analogies in the natural dispensations of Providence at present, and considering ourselves merely in our temporal capacity.

Nor is there any thing shocking in all this, or which would seem to bear hard upon the moral administration in nature, if we would really keep in mind, that every one shall be dealt equitably with: instead of forgetting this, or explaining it away, after it is acknowledged in words. All shadow of injustice, and indeed all harsh appear-

ances, in this various economy of Providence, would be lost, if we would keep in mind, that every merciful allowance shall be made, and no more be required of any one, than what might have been equitably expected of him, from the circumstances in which he was placed; and not what might have been expected, had he been placed in other circumstances: *i. e.* in Scripture language, that every man shall be accepted, 'according to what he had, not according to what he had not*.' This however doth not by any means imply, that all persons' condition here, is equally advantageous with respect to futurity. And Providence's designing to place some in greater darkness with respect to religious knowledge, is no more a reason why they should not endeavour to get out of that darkness, and others to bring them out of it; than why ignorant and slow people in matters of other knowledge, should not endeavour to learn, or should not be instructed.

A system or constitution, in its notion, implies variety; and so complicated a one as this world, very great variety. So that were revelation universal, yet from men's different capacities of understanding, from the different lengths of their lives, their different educations and other external circumstances, and from their difference of temper and bodily constitution; their religious situations would be widely different, and the disadvantage of

* 2 Cor. viii. 12.

some in comparison of others, perhaps, altogether as much as at present. But the following practical reflections may deserve the serious consideration of those persons, who think the circumstances of mankind, or their own, in the forementioned respects, a ground of complaint.

First. The evidence of religion not appearing obvious, may constitute one particular part of some men's trial in the religious sense: as it gives scope, for a virtuous exercise, or vicious neglect of their understanding, in examining or not examining into that evidence. And as inattention, negligence, want of all serious concern, about a matter of such a nature and such importance, when offered to men's consideration, is, before a distinct conviction of its truth, as real immoral depravity and dissoluteness, as neglect of religious practice after such conviction: so active solicitude about it, and fair impartial consideration of its evidence before such conviction, is as really an exercise of a morally right temper, as is religious practice after. Thus, that religion is not intuitively true, but a matter of deduction and inference; that a conviction of its truth is not forced upon every one, but left to be, by some, collected with heedful attention to premises; this as much constitutes religious probation, as much affords sphere, scope, opportunity, for right and wrong behaviour, as any thing whatever does.

Secondly. It appears to be a thing as evident,

though it is not so much attended to, that if upon consideration of religion, the evidence of it should seem to any persons doubtful, in the highest supposable degree; even this doubtful evidence will, however, put them into a *general state of probation* in the moral and religious sense. For, suppose a man to be really in doubt, whether such a person had not done him the greatest favour; or, whether his whole temporal interest did not depend upon that person: no one, who had any sense of gratitude and of prudence, could possibly consider himself in the same situation with regard to such person, as if he had no such doubt. And thus, though the evidence of religion which is afforded to some men, should be little more than that they are given to see, the system of Christianity, or religion in general, to be supposable and credible; this ought in all reason to beget a serious practical apprehension, that it may be true. And even this will afford matter of exercise, for religious suspense and deliberation, for moral resolution and self-government; because the apprehension that religion may be true, does as really lay men under obligations, as a full conviction that it is true.

For, doubt as much presupposes evidence, lower degrees of evidence; as belief presupposes higher, and certainty higher still. Any one, who will a little attend to the nature of evidence, will easily carry this observation on, and see, that between no evidence at all, and that degree of it

which affords ground of doubt, there are as many intermediate degrees; as there are, between that degree which is the ground of doubt, and demonstration. And though we have not faculties to distinguish these degrees of evidence, with any sort of exactness; yet, in proportion as they are discerned, they ought to influence our practice. For it is as real an imperfection in the moral character, not to be influenced in practice by a lower degree of evidence when discerned, as it is, in the understanding, not to discern it.

But if there are any persons, who never set themselves heartily and in earnest to be informed in religion; if there are any who secretly wish it may not prove true; and are less attentive to evidence than to difficulties, and more to objections than to what is said in answer to them; these persons will scarce be thought in a likely way of seeing the evidence of religion, though it were most certainly true, and capable of being ever so fully proved. If any accustom themselves to consider this subject usually in the way of mirth and sport: if they attend to forms and representations, and inadequate manners of expression, instead of the real things intended by them: (for signs often can be no more than inadequately expressive of the things signified:) or if they substitute human errors, in the room of divine truth: why may not all, or any of these things, hinder some men from seeing that evidence, which really

is seen by others; as a like turn of mind, with respect to matters of common speculation and practice, does, we find by experience, hinder them from attaining that knowledge and right understanding, in matters of common speculation and practice, which more fair and attentive minds attain to? And the effect will be the same, whether their neglect of seriously considering the evidence of religion, and their indirect behaviour with regard to it, proceed from mere carelessness, or from the grosser vices; or whether it be owing to this, that forms and figurative manners of expression, as well as errors, administer occasions of ridicule, when the things intended, and the truth itself, would not. In general, levity, carelessness, passion, and prejudice, *do* hinder us from being rightly informed, with respect to common things: and they *may*, in like manner, and perhaps in some further providential manner, with respect to moral and religious subjects—may hinder evidence from being laid before us, and from being seen when it is. The Scripture* does declare, that every one *shall not understand*; and it makes no difference, by what providential conduct this comes to pass.

* Dan. xii. 10. See also Is. xxix. 13, 14. Matt. vi. 23; xi. 25; xiii. 11, 12. John iii. 19; v. 44. 1 Cor. ii. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 4. 2 Tim. iii. 13.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the particular Evidence for Christianity.

The presumptions against revelation, and objections against the general scheme of Christianity, and particular things relating to it, being removed; there remains to be considered, what positive evidence we have for the truth of it.

The evidence of Christianity will be a long series of things, reaching, as it seems, from the beginning of the world to the present time, of great variety and compass, taking in both the direct, and also the collateral, proofs, and making up, all of them together, one argument. I shall therefore, First, make some observations relating to miracles, and the appearing completions of prophecy; and consider what analogy suggests, in answer to the objections brought against this evidence. And, Secondly, I shall endeavour to give some account of the general argument now mentioned, consisting both of the direct and collateral evidence, considered as making up one argument.

1. The Old Testament affords us the same historical evidence of the miracles of Moses and of the prophets, as of the common civil history of Moses and the kings of Israel; or, as of the

affairs of the Jewish nation. And the Gospel and the Acts afford us the same historical evidence of the miracles of Christ and the apostles, as of the common matters related in them. Further: some parts of Scripture, containing an account of miracles fully sufficient to prove the truth of Christianity, are quoted as genuine, from the age in which they are said to be written, down to the present: and no other parts of them, material in the present question, are omitted to be quoted in such manner, as to afford any sort of proof of their not being genuine. The establishment of the Jewish and Christian religions, which were events cotemporary with the miracles related to be wrought in attestation of both, or subsequent to them, these events are just what we should have expected, upon supposition such miracles were really wrought to attest the truth of those religions. These miracles are a satisfactory account of those events: of which no other satisfactory account can be given; nor any account at all, but what is imaginary merely and invented.

Now the just consequence from all this, I think, is, that the Scripture history in general is to be admitted as an authentic genuine history, till somewhat positive be alleged sufficient to invalidate it. The evidence now mentioned for its authority, may be confronted by historical evidence on the other side, if there be any: or general incredibility, in the things related, or

inconsistence in the general turn of the history, would prove it to be of no authority. But since, upon the face of the matter, upon a first and general view, the appearance is, that it is an authentic history; it cannot be determined to be fictitious without some proof that it is so.

2. The Epistles of St. Paul, from the nature of epistolary writing, and moreover from several of them being written, not to particular persons, but to churches; carry in them evidences of their being genuine, beyond what can be in a mere historical narrative, left to the world at large. There is also to be mentioned, a distinct and particular evidence of the genuineness of the epistle chiefly referred to here, the first to the Corinthians; from the manner in which it is quoted by Clemens Romanus, in an epistle of his own to that church *. Now these epistles afford a proof of Christianity, detached from all others, which is, I think, a thing of weight; and also a proof of a nature and kind peculiar to itself. For,

In them the author declares, that he received the gospel in general, and the institution of the communion in particular, not from the rest of the apostles, or jointly together with them, but alone, from Christ himself; whom he declares likewise, conformably to the history in the Acts, that he saw after his ascension †. So that the testimony

* Clem. Rom. Ep. i. c. 47.

† Gal. i; 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c.; Ib. xv. 8.

of St. Paul is to be considered as detached from that of the rest of the apostles.

And he declares further, that he was endued with a power of working miracles, as what was publicly known to those very people, speaks of frequent and great variety of miraculous gifts as then subsisting in those very churches, to which he was writing; which he was reproving for several irregularities; and where he had personal opposers: he mentions these gifts incidentally, in the most easy manner and without effort; by way of reproof to those who had them, for their indecent use of them; and by way of depreciating them, in comparison of moral virtues: in short, he speaks to these churches, of these miraculous powers, in the manner, any one would speak to another of a thing, which was as familiar and as much known in common to them both, as any thing in the world *. And this, as hath been observed by several persons, is surely a very considerable thing.

3. The fact itself is allowed, that Christianity was professed to be received in the world, upon the belief of miracles, immediately in the age in which it is said those miracles were wrought. Now certainly it is not to be supposed, that such numbers of men, in the most distant parts of the

* Rom. xv. 19; 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10—28, &c. and xiii. 1, 2, 8, and the whole xivth ch.; 2 Cor. xii. 12, 13; Gal. iii 2, 5.

world, should forsake the religion of their country, in which they had been educated; separate themselves from their friends, particularly in their festival shows and solemnities, to which the common people are so greatly addicted, and which were of a nature to engage them much more than any thing of that sort amongst us; and embrace a religion, which could not but expose them to many inconveniences, and indeed must have been a giving up the world in a great degree, even from the very first, and before the empire engaged in form against them: it cannot be supposed, that such numbers should make so great, and, to say the least, so inconvenient a change in their whole institution of life, unless they were really convinced of the truth of those miracles, upon the knowledge or belief of which, they professed to make it. And it will, I suppose, readily be acknowledged, that the generality of the first converts to Christianity, must have believed them: that as by becoming Christians they declared to the world, they were satisfied of the truth of those miracles; so this declaration was to be credited. And this their testimony is the same kind of evidence for those miracles, as if they had put it in writing, and these writings had come down to us. And it is real evidence, because it is of facts, which they had capacity and full opportunity to inform themselves of. The credulity of mankind is acknowledged: and the suspicions of mankind

ought to be acknowledged too; and their backwardness even to believe, and greater still to practise, what makes against their interest. And it must particularly be remembered, that education, and prejudice, and authority, were against Christianity, in the age I am speaking of.

A person's laying down his life in attestation of facts or of opinions, is the strongest proof of his believing them. And if the apostles and their cotemporaries did believe the facts, in attestation of which they exposed themselves to sufferings and death; this their belief, or rather knowledge, must be a proof of those facts: for they were such as came under the observation of their senses.

But enthusiasm, it is said, greatly weakens the evidence of testimony even for facts, in matters relating to religion. Yet if great numbers of men, not appearing in any peculiar degree weak, nor under any peculiar suspicion of negligence, affirm that they saw and heard such things plainly with their eyes and their ears, and are admitted to be in earnest; such testimony is evidence of the strongest kind we can have for any matter of fact. Nothing can destroy the evidence of testimony in any case, but a proof, or probability, that persons are not competent judges of the facts to which they give testimony; or that they are actually under some indirect influence in giving it, in such particular case. Till this be

made out, the *natural* laws of human actions require, that testimony be admitted.

Now the conclusion from the foregoing observations is, I think, beyond all doubt; this: that unbelievers must be forced to admit the external evidence for Christianity, *i. e.* the proof of miracles wrought to attest it, to be of real weight and very considerable; though they cannot allow it to be sufficient, to convince them of the reality of those miracles.

II. As to the evidence of Christianity from prophecy, I shall only make some few general observations, which are suggested by the analogy of nature, *i. e.* by the acknowledged natural rules of judging in common matters, concerning evidence of a like kind to this from prophecy.

1. The obscurity, or unintelligibleness of one part of the prophecy, does not, in any degree, invalidate the proof of foresight, arising from the appearing completion of those other parts which are understood. Suppose a writing, partly in cipher, and partly in plain words at length; and that in the part one understood, there appeared mention of several known facts: it would never come into any man's thoughts to imagine, that if he understood the whole, perhaps he might find, that those facts were not in reality known by the writer.

2. A long series of prophecy being applicable to such and such events, is itself a proof, that it

was intended of them: as the rules, by which we naturally judge and determine, in common cases parallel to this, will show.

Now there are two kinds of writing which bear a great resemblance to prophecy, with respect to the matter before us: the mythological, and the satirical where the satire is, to a certain degree concealed. And a man might be assured, that he understood what an author intended by a fable or parable, related without any application or moral, merely from seeing it to be easily capable of such application, and that such a moral might naturally be deduced from it. And he might be fully assured, that such persons and events were intended in a satirical writing, merely from its being applicable to them. And, agreeably to the last observation, he might be in a good measure satisfied of it, though he were not enough informed in affairs, or in the story of such persons, to understand half the satire. For, his satisfaction, that he understood the meaning, the intended meaning, of these writings, would be greater or less in proportion as he saw the general turn of them to be capable of such application; and in proportion to the number of particular things capable of it. And thus, if a long series of prophecy is applicable to the present state of the church, and to the political situations of the kingdoms of the world, some thousand years after these prophecies were delivered, and a long series of prophecy deli-

vered before the coming of Christ is applicable to nim; these things are in themselves a proof, that the prophetic history was intended of him, and of those events; in proportion as the general turn of it is capable of such application, and to the number and variety of particular prophecies capable of it.

I shall now, SECONDLY, endeavour to give some account of the general argument for the truth of Christianity, consisting both of the direct and circumstantial evidence, considered as making up one argument. For it is the kind of evidence, upon which most questions of difficulty, in common practice, are determined; evidence arising from various coincidences, which support and confirm each other, and in this manner prove, with more or less certainty, the point under consideration.

Revelation, whether real or supposed, may be considered as wholly historical. For prophecy is nothing but the history of events before they come to pass: doctrines also are matters of fact; and precepts come under the same notion. And the general design of Scripture, which contains in it this revelation, thus considered as historical, may be said to be, to give us an account of the world, in this one single view, as God's world: by which it appears essentially distinguished from all other books, so far as I have found, except such as are copied from it. It begins with an account of

God's creation of the world, in order to ascertain, and distinguish from all others, who is the object of our worship, by what he has done: in order to ascertain who he is, concerning whose providence, commands, promises and threatenings, this sacred book, all along, treats; the Maker and Proprietor of the world, he whose creatures we are, the God of nature; in order likewise to distinguish him from the idols of the nations, which are either imaginary beings, *i. e.*, no beings at all; or else part of that creation, the historical relation of which is here given. And St. John, not improbably with an eye to this Mosaic account of the creation, begins his gospel with an account of our Saviour's pre-existence, and that "all things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made*:" agreeably to the doctrine of St. Paul, that "God created all things by Jesus Christ†." Revelation, indeed, considers the common affairs of this world, and what is going on in it, as a mere scene of distraction: and cannot be supposed to concern itself with foretelling, at what time Rome or Babylon or Greece, or any particular place, should be the most conspicuous seat of that tyranny and dissoluteness, which all places equally aspire to be; cannot, I say, be supposed to give any account of this wild scene for its own sake. But it seems to contain some very general account of the chief governments of the world,

* John i. 3. † Eph. iii. 9.

as the general state of religion, has been, is, or shall be, affected by them, from the first transgression, and during the whole interval of the world's continuing in its present state, to a certain future period, spoken of both in the Old and New Testament, very distinctly, and in great variety of expression: "the times of the restitution of all things[1]:" when "the mystery of God shall be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets[2]:" when "the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people[3]," as it is represented to be during this apostacy, but "judgment shall be given to the saints[4]," and "they shall reign[5]:" "and the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High[6]."

Upon this general view of the Scripture, I would remark, how great a length of time the

[1] Acts iii. 21. [2] Rev. x. 7. [3] Dan. ii. 44.
[4] Dan. vii. 22. [5] Rev.* [6] Dan. vii. 27.

* The expression "*they shall reign*," will be found Rev. xxii. 5. In the *original* editions of the Analogy there is no reference to the chapter and verse. In some *modern* editions the passage has been *incorrectly* referred to Rev. xx. 6., and by this the writer of the Memoir was misled. The true reference did not occur to his recollection until he had concluded his remarks upon *the Letter to Dr. Hare*, or it would have strengthened the argument to show that this *Letter did not proceed from the pen of Bishop Butler.*

whole relation takes up, near six thousand years of which are past: and how great a variety of things it treats of; the natural and moral system or history of the world, including the time when it was formed, all contained in the very first book, and evidently written in a rude and unlearned age; and in subsequent books, the various common and prophetic history, and the particular dispensation of Christianity. Now all this together, gives the largest scope for criticism; and for confutation of what is capable of being confuted, either from reason, or from common history, or from any inconsistence in its several parts. And it is a thing which deserves, I think, to be mentioned, that whereas some imagine, the supposed doubtfulness of the evidence for revelation implies a positive argument that it is not true; it appears, on the contrary, to imply a positive argument that it is true. For, could any common revelation, of such antiquity, extent, and variety (for in these things the stress of what I am now observing lies) be proposed to the examination of the world: that it could not, in any age of knowledge and liberty, be confuted, or shown to have nothing in it, to the satisfaction of reasonable men; this would be thought a strong presumptive proof of its truth. And indeed it must be a proof of it, just in proportion to the probability, that if it were false, it might be shown to be so.

Together with the moral system of the world,

the Old Testament contains a chronological account of the beginning of it, and from thence, an unbroken genealogy of mankind for many ages before common history begins; and carried on as much further as to make up a continued thread of history of the length of between three and four thousand years. It contains an account of God's making a covenant with a particular nation, that they should be his people, and he would be their God, in a peculiar sense; of his often interposing miraculously in their affairs; giving them the promise, and long after, the possession, of a particular country; assuring them of the greatest national prosperity in it, if they would worship him, in opposition to the idols which the rest of the world worshipped: and obey his commands; and threatening them with unexampled punishments, if they disobeyed him, and fell into the general idolatry: insomuch, that this one nation should continue to be the observation and the wonder of all the world. It declares particularly, that "God would scatter them among all people, from one end of the earth unto the other:" but that "when they should return unto the Lord their God, he would have compassion upon them, and gather them from all the nations whither he had scattered them:" that "Israel should be saved in the Lord, with an everlasting salvation; and not be ashamed or confounded, world without end." And as some of these promises are conditional, others are as abso-

lute, as any thing can be expressed: that the time should come, when "the people should be all righteous, and inherit the land for ever:" that "though God would make a full end of all nations whither he had scattered them, yet would he not make a full end of them:" that "he would bring again the captivity of his people Israel, and plant them upon their land, and they should be no more pulled up out of their land:" that "the seed of Israel should not cease from being a nation for ever[1]." It foretells that God would raise them up a particular person, in whom all his promises should finally be fulfilled: the Messiah, who should be, in a high and eminent sense, their anointed Prince and Saviour. This was foretold in such a manner, as raised a general expectation of such a person in the nation, as appears from the New Testament, and is an acknowledged fact; an expectation of his coming at such a particular time, before any one appeared claiming to be that person, and when there was no ground for such an expectation but from the prophecies: which expectation, therefore, must in all reason be presumed to be explanatory of those prophecies, if there were any doubt about their meaning. It seems moreover to foretell, that this person should be rejected by that nation, to whom he had been so long promised, and though he was so much

[1] Deut. xxviii. 64; xxx. 2, 3. Is. xlv. 17; lx. 21; Jer. xxx. 11; xlvi. 28. Amos. ix. 15. Jer. xxxi. 36.

desired by them[1]. And it expressly foretells, that he should be the Saviour of the Gentiles; and even that the completion of the scheme, contained in this book, and then begun, and in its progress, should be somewhat so great, that, in comparison with it, the restoration of the Jews alone would be but of small account. "It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth[2]."

The Scripture further contains an account, that at the time the Messiah was expected, a person rose up, in this nation, claiming to be that Messiah,—to be the person, whom all the prophecies referred to, and in whom they should centre: that he spent some years in a continued course of miraculous works; and endued his immediate disciples and followers with a power of doing the same, as a proof of the truth of that religion, which he commissioned them to publish: that, invested with this authority and power, they made numerous converts in the remotest countries, and settled and established his religion in the world; to the end of which, the Scripture professes to give a prophetic account of the state of this religion amongst mankind.

Let us now suppose a person utterly ignorant

[1] Is. viii. 14, 15; xlix. 5, 6. [2] Is. xlix. 6.

of history, to have all this related to him, out of the Scripture. Let him first be told, in how great a degree the profession and establishment of natural religion, the belief that there is one God to be worshipped, that virtue is his law, and that mankind shall be rewarded and punished hereafter, as they obey and disobey it here; in how very great a degree, I say, the profession and establishment of this moral system in the world is owing to the revelation, whether real or supposed, contained in this book: the establishment of this moral system, even in those countries which do not acknowledge the proper authority of the Scripture. Let him be told, also, what number of nations do acknowledge its proper authority; let him then take in the consideration, of what importance religion is to mankind. And upon these things he might, I think, truly observe, that this supposed revelation's obtaining and being received in the world, with all the circumstances and effects of it, considered together as one event, is the most conspicuous and important event in the history of mankind: that a book of this nature, and thus promulged and recommended to our consideration, demands, as if by a voice from heaven, to have its claims most seriously examined into; and that, before such examination, to treat it with any kind of scoffing and ridicule, is an offence against natural piety.

Let such a person as we are speaking of, be, in

the next place, informed of the acknowledged antiquity of the first parts of this book; and that its chronology, its account of the time when the earth, and the several parts of it, were first peopled with human creatures, is no way contradicted, but is really confirmed, by the natural and civil history of the world, collected from common historians, from the state of the earth, and from the late invention of arts and sciences. And as the Scripture contains an unbroken thread of common and civil history, from the creation to the captivity, for between three and four thousand years: let the person we are speaking of be told, in the next place, that this general history, as it is not contradicted, but is confirmed by profane history as much as there would be reason to expect, upon supposition of its truth; so there is nothing in the whole history *itself*, to give any reasonable ground of suspicion of its not being, in the general, a faithful and literally true genealogy of men, and series of things.

Let it then be more particularly observed to this person, that it is an acknowledged matter of fact, which is indeed implied in the foregoing observation, that there was such a nation as the Jews, of the greatest antiquity, whose government and general polity was founded on the law, here related to be given them by Moses as from heaven: that natural religion, though with rites additional yet no way contrary to it, was their

away captive and dispersed through the most distant countries; in which state of dispersion they have remained fifteen hundred years: and that they remain a numerous people, united amongst themselves, and distinguished from the rest of the world, as they were in the days of Moses, by the profession of his law; and everywhere looked upon in a manner, which one scarce knows how distinctly to express, but in the words of the prophetic account of it, given so many ages before it came to pass: "Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word, among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee."

And as several of these events seem, in some degree expressly, to have verified the prophetic history already; so likewise they may be considered further, as having a peculiar aspect towards the full completion of it; as affording some presumption that the whole of it shall, one time or other, be fulfilled. Thus, that the *Jews* have been so wonderfully preserved in their long and wide dispersion; that natural religion came forth from *Judea*, and spread, in the degree it has done over the world, before lost in idolatry; that this great change of religion over the earth, was brought about under the profession and acknowledgment, that Jesus was the promised Messiah; things of this kind naturally turn the thoughts of serious men towards the full completion of the prophetic history, concerning the final restoration of that

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Objections which may be made against arguing from the Analogy of Nature, to Religion.

Since this treatise, in common with most others, lies open to objections, which may appear very material to thoughtful men at first sight; and, besides that, seems peculiarly liable to the objections of such as can judge without thinking, and of such as can censure without judging; it may not be amiss to set down the chief of these objections which occur to me, and consider them to their hands. And they are such as these:— "That it is a poor thing to solve difficulties in revelation, by saying, that there are the same in natural religion: when what is wanting is to clear both of them, of these their common, as well as other their respective, difficulties."

But it hath always been allowed to argue, from what is acknowledged, to what is disputed. And it is in no other sense a poor thing, to argue from natural religion to revealed, in the manner found fault with, than it is to argue in numberless other ways of probable deduction and inference, in matters of conduct, which we are continually reduced to the necessity of doing. Indeed the epithet *poor* may be applied, I fear, as properly

probability of our securing one, is equal to the probability of our securing the other.

Thirdly: The design of this treatise is not to vindicate the character of God, but to show the obligations of men: it is not to justify his providence, but to show what belongs to us to do. For, 1st., It is not necessary we should justify the dispensations of Providence against objections, any further than to show, that the things objected against may, for aught we know, be consistent with justice and goodness. Suppose, then, that there are things in the system of this world, and plan of Providence relating to it, which taken alone would be unjust: yet it has been shown unanswerably, that if we could take in the reference, which these things may have, to other things present, past, and to come; to the whole scheme, which the things objected against are parts of: these very things might, for aught we know, be found to be, not only consistent with justice, but instances of it. Hence it appears, 2dly, That objections against the Divine justice and goodness are not endeavoured to be removed, by showing that the like objections, allowed to be really conclusive, lie against natural providence: but those objections being supposed and shown not to be conclusive, the things objected against, considered as matters of fact, are further shown to be credible, from their conformity to the constitution of nature; for instance, that God will reward

without entering into the distinct consideration of this. And from hence, 5thly, It is easy to see, that though the analogy of nature is not an immediate answer to objections against the wisdom, the justice, or goodness, of any doctrine or precept of religion: yet it may be, as it is, an immediate and direct answer to what is really intended by such objections; which is, to show that the things objected against are incredible.

Fourthly: The unsatisfactory nature of the evidence, with which we are obliged to take up, in the daily course of life, is scarce to be expressed. Yet men do not throw away life, or disregard the interests of it, upon account of this doubtfulness. The evidence of religion then being admitted real, those who object against it, as not satisfactory, *i. e.* as not being what they wish it, plainly forget the very condition of our being: for satisfaction, in this sense, does not belong to such a creature as man. And, which is more material, they forget also the very nature of religion. For religion presupposes, in all those who will embrace it, a certain degree of integrity and honesty; which it was intended to try whether men have or not, and to exercise in such as have it, in order to its improvement. Now the evidence of it is fully sufficient for all those purposes of probation; how far soever it is from being satisfactory, as to the purposes of curiosity, or any other: and indeed it answers the purposes of the former in several respects, which

it would not do, if it were as overbearing as is required. And thus, not only revelation, but reason also, teaches us, that by the evidence of religion being laid before men, the designs of Providence are carrying on, not only with regard to those who will, but likewise with regard to those who will not, be influenced by it.

And further, I desire it may be considered, with respect to the whole of the foregoing objections, that in this treatise I have argued upon the principles of others*, not my own: and have omitted what I think true, and of the utmost importance, because by others thought unintelligible, or not true. Thus I have argued upon the principles of the fatalists, which I do not believe; and have omitted a thing of the utmost importance, which I do believe,—the moral fitness and unfitness of actions, prior to all will whatever; which I apprehend as certainly to determine the Divine conduct, as speculative truth and falsehood necessarily determine the Divine judgment. The obligations of religion then, are made out, exclusively of the questions concerning liberty, and moral fitness; which have been perplexed with difficulties and abstruse reasonings, as everything may.

* By *arguing upon the principles of others*, the reader will observe is meant; not proving anything *from* those principles, but *notwithstanding* them. Thus religion is proved, not *from* the opinion of necessity; which is absurd: but *notwithstanding* or *even though* that opinion were admitted to be true.

Hence therefore may be observed distinctly, what is the force of this treatise. It will be, to such as are convinced of religion upon the proof arising out of the two last-mentioned principles, an additional proof and a confirmation of it; to such as do not admit those principles, an original proof of it, and a confirmation of that proof. Those who believe, will here find the scheme of Christianity cleared of objections, and the evidence of it in a peculiar manner strengthened: those who do not believe, will at least be shown the absurdity of all attempts to prove Christianity false, the plain undoubted credibility of it; and I hope, a good deal more.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE CHARGE

DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY AT THE PRIMARY VISITATION OF THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM, IN THE YEAR 1751;

WHICH BEAR UPON THE CONTROVERSY REFERRED TO IN THE MEMOIR.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE CHARGE.

"It is impossible for me, my brethren, upon our first meeting of this kind, to forbear lamenting with you, the general decay of religion in this nation; which is now observed by every one, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons. The influence of it is more and more wearing out of the minds of men, even of those who do not pretend to enter into speculations upon the subject: but the number of those who do, and who profess themselves unbelievers, increases, and with their numbers their zeal. Zeal it is natural to ask—for what? Why truly *for* nothing, but *against* every thing that is good and sacred amongst us. Indeed, whatever efforts are made against our religion, no Christian can possibly despair of it. For He, who has all power in heaven and earth, has promised, that "he will be with us to the end of the world." Nor can the present decline of it be any stumbling-block to such as are considerate; since he himself has so

strongly expressed what is as remarkably predicted in other passages of Scripture, the great defection from his religion which should be in the latter days, by that prophetic question, 'When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith upon the earth?' How near this time is, God only knows; but this kind of Scripture signs of it is too apparent. For as different ages have been distinguished by different sorts of particular errors and vices, the deplorable distinction of ours is an avowed scorn of religion in some, and a growing disregard to it in the generality."

The following judicious mode of treating opposers of the truth is then laid down. "As to the professed enemies of religion, I know not how often they may come in your way; but often enough, I fear, in the way of some at least amongst you, to require consideration, what is the proper behaviour towards them. We should study what St. James, with wonderful elegance and expressiveness, calls 'meekness of wisdom,' in our behaviour towards all men; but more especially towards these men; not so much as being what we owe to them, but to ourselves and our religion; that we may 'adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour,' in our carriage towards those who labour to vilify it.

"For discourse with them; the caution commonly given, not to attempt answering objections which we have not considered, is certainly just.

Nor need any one in a particular case be ashamed frankly to acknowledge his ignorance, provided it be not general. And though it were, to talk of what he is not acquainted with, is a dangerous method of endeavouring to conceal it. But a considerate person, however qualified he be to defend his religion, and answer the objections he hears made against it, may sometimes see cause to decline that office. Sceptical and profane men are extremely apt to bring up this subject at meetings of entertainment, and such as are of the freer sort; innocent ones, I mean, otherwise I should not suppose you would be present at them. Now religion is by far too serious a matter to be the hackney subject upon these occasions. And by preventing its being made so, you will better secure the reverence which is due to it, than by entering into its defence."

"But further, cavilling and objecting upon any subject is much easier than clearing up difficulties: and this last part will always be put upon the defenders of religion. Now a man may be fully convinced of the truth of a matter, and upon the strongest reasons, and yet not be able to answer all the difficulties which may be raised upon it. Then again, the general evidence of religion is complex and various. It consists of a long series of things, one preparatory to and confirming another, from the very beginning of the world to the present time. And it is easy to see

how impossible it must be, in a cursory conversation, to unite all this into one argument, and represent it as it ought; and, could it be done, how utterly indisposed people would be to attend to it—I say in a cursory conversation: whereas unconnected objections are thrown out in a few words, and are easily apprehended, without more attention than is usual in common talk. So that, notwithstanding we have the best cause in the world, and though a man were very capable of defending it, yet I know not why he should be forward to undertake it upon so great a disadvantage, and to so little good effect, as it must be done amidst the gaiety and carelessness of common conversation."

Bishop Butler having cautioned his clergy, while they abstain from a rash defence of Christianity at an inexpedient season, to beware, especially, that they do "not *seem*, by way of compliance, to join in with any levity of discourse respecting religion," adds—"Nor would one let any pretended argument against it pass entirely without notice; nor any gross ribaldry upon it, without expressing our thorough disapprobation. This last may sometimes be done by silence: for silence sometimes is very expressive; as was that of our blessed SAVIOUR before the Sanhedrim and before Pilate. Or it may be done by observing mildly, that religion deserves another sort of treatment, or a more thorough consideration, than

such a time, or such circumstances, admit. However, as it is absolutely necessary that we take care, by diligent reading and study, to be always prepared, to be 'ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in us;' so there may be occasions when it will highly become us to do it. And then, we must take care to do it in the spirit which the Apostle requires, 'with meekness and fear[1]:' *meekness* towards those who give occasions for entering into the defence of our religion; and with *fear*, not of them, but of God; with that reverential fear, which the nature of religion requires, and which is so far from being inconsistent with, that it will inspire proper courage towards men."

If it appear right to exercise caution in entering upon "an argumentative defence of religion in common conversation," it may be deemed necessary to do this more directly from the pulpit: "but then," says Butler, "surely it should be done in a manner as little controversial as possible. For though such as are capable of seeing the force of objections, are capable, also, of seeing the force of the answers which are given to them; yet the truth is, the people will not competently attend to either. But it is easy to see which they will attend to most. And to hear religion treated of as what many deny, and which has much said against it, as well as for it; this cannot but have

[1] 1 Peter iii. 15.

a tendency to give them ill impressions at any time; and seems particularly improper for all persons at a time of devotion; even for such as are arrived at the most settled state of piety: I say, at a time of devotion, when we are assembled to yield ourselves up to the full influence of the Divine Presence, and to call forth, into actual exercise, every pious affection of heart. For it is to be repeated, that the heart and course of affections may be disturbed, when there is no alteration of judgment. Now, the evidence of religion may be laid before men, without any air of controversy."—"The proof of Christianity from miracles, and the accomplishment of prophecies; and the confirmation which the natural and civil history of the world give to the Scripture account of things; these evidences of religion might properly be insisted on, in a way to affect and influence the heart, though there were no professed unbelievers in the world; and therefore may be insisted on, without taking much notice that there are such. And even their particular objections may be obviated, without a formal mention of them."

When it is recollected how much more readily arguments against Christianity are listened to, and remembered, by persons of unsettled principles, than those in its favour, these remarks will be allowed to possess great weight, and to lay down an admirable rule for the observance of ministers of the Gospel. The bishop then commences his obser-

vations upon *the importance of external religion;* at which the offence was taken, which originated the attack upon the Charge. He had previously said to his clergy, " But your standing business, and which requires constant attention, is with the body of the people, to revive in them the spirit of religion, which is so much declining." He now enters more at large upon this topic. " Nor does the want of religion in the generality of the common people, appear owing to a speculative disbelief, or denial of it, but chiefly to thoughtlessness, and the common temptations of life. Your chief business therefore is to endeavour to beget a practical sense of it upon their hearts, as what they acknowledge their belief of, and profess they ought to conform themselves to. And this is to be done, by keeping up, as we are able, the form and face of religion with decency and reverence, and in such a degree as to bring the thoughts of religion often to their minds; and then endeavouring to make this form more and more subservient to promote the reality and power of it. The form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved amongst mankind without the form. And this form frequently occurring in some instance or other of it, will be a frequent admonition to bad men to repent, and to good men to grow better; and also be the means of their doing so."

stition sinks deep into the minds of the people, and their religion also, into the minds of such among them as are serious and well-disposed. Our Reformers, considering that some of these observances were in themselves wrong and superstitious, and others of them made subservient to the purposes of superstition, abolished them, reduced the form of religion to great simplicity, and enjoined no more particular rules, nor left any thing more of what was external in religion, than was in a manner necessary to preserve a sense of religion itself upon the minds of the people. But a great part of this is neglected by the generality amongst us: for instance, the service of the Church, not only upon common days, but also upon saints' days; and several other things might be mentioned. Thus they have no customary admonition, no public call to recollect the thoughts of God and religion from one Sunday to another."

"It was far otherwise under the Law. 'These words,' says Moses to the children of Israel, 'which I command thee, shall be in thine heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down,' and when thou risest up. And as they were commanded this, so it is obvious how much the constitution of that law was adapted to effect it, and keep religion ever in view. And without somewhat of this nature, piety will grow

languid, even among the better sort of men; and the worst will go on quietly in an abandoned course, with fewer interruptions from within than they would have, were religious reflections forced oftener upon their minds, and consequently, with less probability of their amendment. Indeed, in most ages of the Church, the care of reasonable men has been, as there has been for the most part occasion, to draw the people off from laying too great weight upon external things; upon formal acts of piety. But the state of matters is quite changed now with us. These things are neglected to a degree, which is, and cannot but be, attended with a decay of all that is good. 'Tis highly seasonable now to instruct the people in the importance of external religion."

After remarking that, "in the present turn of the age, one may observe a wonderful frugality in every thing which has respect to religion, and extravagance in every thing else," the bishop urges the importance of preserving the structures which are consecrated to the service of God in proper repair; otherwise he says, "we shall vilify the face of religion whilst we keep it up." He then enforces the duty of inculcating upon the people, a frequent and conscientious attendance upon public worship; as a plain precept of the Gospel, as a means of grace, and as having peculiar promises annexed to it. But since, especially in rural parishes, there are many difficulties in the

way of frequent public devotions, he recommends that family prayers should be regularly kept up in "every house," as that which would be followed by the Divine blessing. Secret prayer, moreover, at stated periods, he urges upon all who have not thrown off all regard to piety. "But secret prayer," he says, "comprehends not only devotions before men begin, and after they have ended the business of the day, but such also as may be performed while they are employed in it, or even in company. And, truly, if besides our more set devotions, morning and evening, all of us would fix upon certain times of the day, so that the return of the hour should remind us, to say short prayers, or exercise our thoughts in a way equivalent to this; perhaps there are few persons in so high and habitual a state of piety, as not to find the benefit of it. If it took up no more than a minute or two, or even less time than that, it would serve the end I am proposing; it would be a recollection, that we are in the Divine presence, and contribute to our being in the 'fear of the Lord all the day long.'"

The acknowledgment of God, when we partake of his bounty at our meals, is also enforced as a duty, in connexion with the following remarks. "The neglect of this is said to have been scandalous to a proverb, in the heathen world*; but it

* *Cudworth on the Lord's Supper*, p. 8; *Casaub. in Athenæum*, l. 1. c. xi. p. 22, &c.

is without shame laid aside at the tables of th highest and the lowest rank among us."

The importance of urging parents to instruc their children at home in the duty of prayer, an in the principles of Christianity;—the necessity o adding, to pulpit instruction, private and individua counsel and admonition, taking advantage of par ticular circumstances, and events;—the peculia fitness of the season of confirmation for this pur- pose, as well as of that which follows it;—the preparation, of those who have been confirmed, for admission to the Lord's Supper;—all these points are alluded to, in this apostolic and comprehensive Charge. And, as if he had anticipated the objections which would be made against the view he had taken of his subject, while he was by no means, on that account, disposed to alter his course, the Prelate, adds,—"All this indeed may be called form; as every thing external in religion may be merely so. And therefore whilst we endeavour, in these and other like instances, to keep up *the form of Godliness* amongst those who are our care, and over whom we have any influence; we must endeavour also, that this *form* be made more and more subservient to promote the *power* of it[1]. Admonish them to take heed, that they mean what they say in their prayers, that their thoughts and intentions go along with their words, that they really in their hearts exert and exercise before

[1] 2 Tim. iii. 5.

God the affections they express with their mouth. Teach them, not that external religion is nothing, for this is not true in any sense; it being scarce possible, but that it will lay some sort of restraint upon a man's morals; and it is moreover of good effect with respect to the world about him. But teach them that regard to one duty will in no sort atone for the neglect of any other. Endeavour to raise in their hearts such a sense of God as shall be an habitual, ready principle of reverence, love, gratitude, hope, trust, resignation, and obedience. Exhort them to make use of every circumstance, which brings the subject of religion at all before them; to turn their hearts habitually to him; to recollect seriously the thoughts of his presence 'in whom they live and move and have their being,' and by a short act of their minds devote themselves to his service.—If, for instance, persons would accustom themselves to be thus admonished by the very sight of a church, could it be called superstition? Enforce upon them the necessity of making religion their principal concern, as what is the express condition of the Gospel covenant, and what the very nature of the thing requires. Explain to them the terms of that covenant of mercy, founded in the incarnation, sacrifice, and intercession of Christ, together with the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, not to supersede our own endeavours, but to render them effectual."

this diligence in these things does indeed suppose, that 'we give ourselves wholly to them.' It supposes, not only that we have a real sense of religion upon our own minds, but also, that to promote the practice of it in others is habitually uppermost in our thoughts and intention, as the business of our lives. And this, my Brethren, is the business of our lives, in every sense, and upon every account. 'Tis the general business of all Christians as they have opportunity: it is our particular business. 'Tis so, as we have devoted ourselves to it by the most solemn engagements; as, according to our Lord's appointment, we 'live of the gospel[1];' and as the preservation and advancement of religion, in such and such districts, are, in some respects, our appropriated trust.

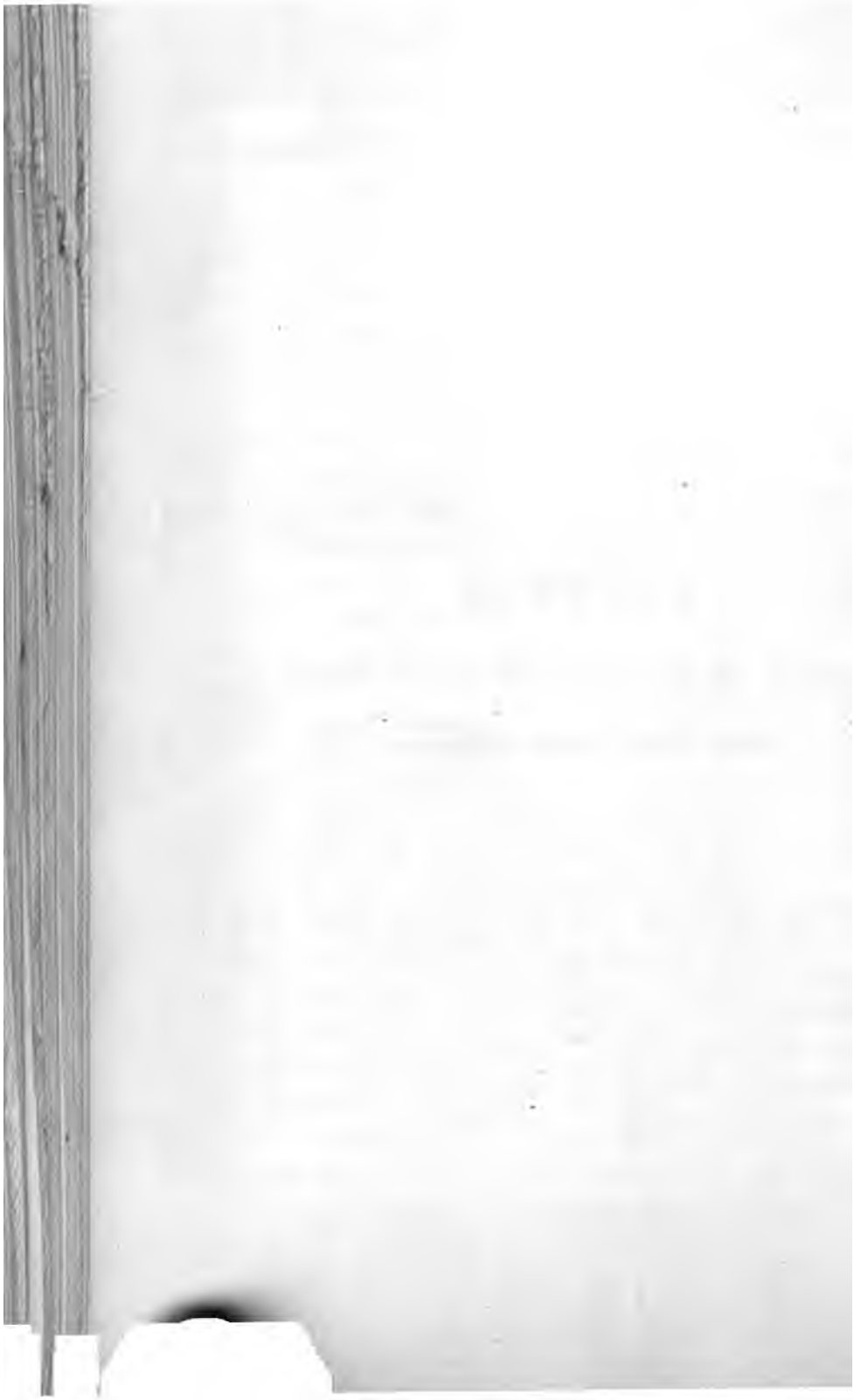
" By being faithful in the discharge of this our trust, by thus 'taking heed to the ministry we have received in the Lord that we fulfil it[2],' we shall do our part towards reviving a practical sense of religion amongst the people committed to our care. And this will be the securest barrier against the efforts of infidelity; a great source of which plainly is, the endeavour to get rid of religious restraints. But whatever be our success with regard to others, we shall have the approbation of our consciences, and may rest assured, that as to ourselves at least, 'our labour is not in vain in the Lord[3].'"

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 14. [2] Col. iv. 17. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 58.

A SERMON,

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN BY BISHOP BUTLER,

AND NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.



INTRODUCTION.

ASSUMING the following Discourse to have been written by Bishop Butler, and to have been delivered at Stanhope, as the memorandum upon the first page might lead us to conclude, it would not be unnatural to expect something less elaborate, and argumentative, than the *Fifteen Sermons*, preached before the learned auditory at the Rolls; or than the *Six Sermons* delivered on important public occasions. As there are no other Discourses, however, by Bishop Butler, of a similar class, with which it can be compared, the fair mode of forming a judgment upon it will be, not to inquire whether it might have been one of the series from which the *Fifteen Sermons* were selected; but whether, considering the resemblance of the autograph, and the endorsement of Stanhope upon it, there are sufficient marks of internal evidence, *in the general style and sentiments*, to render it probable that it is a discourse by the same Author, although of a plainer cast, and adapted to a country congregation. The doctrine it inculcates is in strict harmony with a manuscript note of the

bishop's, in a Greek Testament in the possession of the Author of the preceding *Memoir*, upon Titus iii. 5. He there remarks, upon the word *Παλιγγενεσίας*,—"The change and renovation of the soul or affections for the better, spiritually accomplished by Christ in our hearts." This coincidence, upon such a point, may, perhaps, be deemed to possess some weight.

A SERMON,

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN BY BISHOP BUTLER.

ST. JOHN iii. 8.—"*The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou canst not tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit.*"

When we read of Nicodemus visiting Jesus, and acknowledging the conviction wrought upon some of the beholders, that they concluded from thence his mission to be divine, it is plain something more than mere curiosity led him to this conference. He was desirous of instruction, and our blessed Saviour deigned to gratify him by entering on a discourse concerning the kingdom of God. Whether Nicodemus had attained those qualifications requisite to prepare men for, and admit them into this kingdom, we know not; or, whether Christ of his own accord fell upon this point as of the greatest importance, was not material for St. John to acquaint us. That which is of the greatest consequence is, that he makes a man's being born again, the indispensable con-

some general conclusions, which may direct us in our contemplation of divine truths, and especially that of regeneration, which is the subject of our Saviour's argument with Nicodemus. Secondly, from the Application, I shall consider, how far the properties of the wind here mentioned, will give us any just ground to judge of the Holy Spirit's workings upon the souls of men.

First, a man may have sufficient reason to assure himself that a thing really is, without being able to give an account how it came to be. For the cause of a thing is indeed one and a very satisfactory way of coming to the distinct knowledge of its nature. But this is but one way of many; and some things which we cannot come at this way may be so certain to us, that it would be extreme obstinacy to deny them. For as things have causes, so have they effects, and properties, and other characters by which they may be distinguished. And it is sufficient if any of these give evidence of their existing. For we are every way as sure, that what hath no being of its own cannot have properties, and effects, as we are that what hath these could never have been without a cause. And therefore, when we are able to assign any such properties or effects, that is a demonstration of the reality of the thing. Thus, if there be certain marks by which being born of the Spirit is evidently discerned, and distinguished from another that is not so born, we

may from those marks conclude, that such
is regenerate, though we could not po
determine from whence this principle of n
took its rise; or if we knew, as we may
that it could be owing to no other cause bu
operations of the Holy Ghost, we may then, w
such marks appear, be confident, that the sa
fying operations of the Holy Ghost have pa
upon that person, though neither we who w
bystanders, nor perhaps the man himself, was c
scious of the manner in which they were beg
and carried on in his mind.

I shall Secondly consider, from the applicati
in the text, how far the properties of the win
mentioned in this similitude, will give us any jus
ground to judge of the Holy Spirit's working
upon the minds of men.

The Application is continued in the last clause
of the verse, "So is every one that is born of the
Spirit." That is, the work of Regenera[illegible]ion carries
great resemblance to what is observed [illegible] of the
wind: for, as there we gather its blowing from [illegible]its
sound and other effects, though we do not see the
blast, nor its rise and passage, nor are acquainted
with the cause that sets it on; so may a child of
God know he is such, by the effects and characters
of that relation; though he do not see the Spirit
that renews him, though the operations, by which
he is renewed, be such as fall not under the obser-
vation of his outward senses, nor is perhaps his

own mind conscious to many things by which that change is wrought in him.

And first, from that expression, "The wind bloweth where it listeth," we may, I think, fairly infer the freedom of God's grace. That he giveth it liberally, and of his own accord, and that it is what no merit of ours can oblige him to give. In this argument St. Paul has laboured much to show, that the very nature of grace is contrary to that of works. That Abraham, the father and the pattern of the faithful, received the call and promise of God, while he was yet among Idolaters, and could have no works to boast of: that when Jews and Gentiles were both concluded under sin, God chose the Gentiles, as he did Jacob before Esau, freely, while yet in the womb; not that the one of these had any wrong done him, or was used worse than he deserved, but the other found great favour, and was used better than he deserved. Thus it is in the work of Regeneration. God gives us his preventing graces freely. He imparts the light of his gospel, and it is a marvellous blessing to be born and educated in those happy regions which are enlightened with the pure lustre of it. When we believe his gospel, it is his grace that disposes our minds to do so; when that faith exerts itself in works of obedience, this also is owing to the assistances of his grace. When we improve to higher excellencies, and approach nearer to the

crimes, by fathering them upon divine impulse and inspiration. But, while we see them turbulent and factious, proud and disobedient, censorious and bitter, unjust and uncharitable; can we think that God is the Author of, or dwells with, those froward dispositions? It were a contradiction to all religion to suppose so; and, however they may be exalted by their own vain imaginations, yet alas! they know not themselves, nor what spirit they are of.

I proceed now to a Second reflection concerning the manner of the Spirit's working upon our minds,—which is, that as we can give no account of the rise, the increase, the quieting of the wind; where it began, where it will stop, or how long it will last: so, the operations of the Spirit are often very remote from our understandings. He may move us without our having any distinct perception of the thing; nor can we always say, then the impulse began, thus long it continued, and now it ceases to move me. And this cannot seem very strange to any, that shall consider by what steps he hath come off from a wicked life, or proceeded in a good one. For in all this, he will find nothing of violence, or external compulsion, but such motives all along as were entirely agreeable to his faculties, and the methods by which He proceeds in other cases. For did not this change begin with a conviction of sin, and the evil of it, and in consequence of this, an hatred and detes-

rifies, reproaches, comforts, commends; and performs all other offices necessary to piety.

But these He performs *in* us, and *with* us, and *by* us. From him, as we acknowledge in our daily prayers, "all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed." But they proceed from him in such a manner, as still to be our desires, our counsels, and our works. What has been said deserves well to be considered, in order to make men very careful not to resist any of the good motions, nor to withstand the warnings of conscience; to be careful that they do not quench, grieve, resist, or do despite to the Spirit of God, since it is a great and heinous sin. If, as hath been said, it act upon us by the outward ministry of the word, by the inward dictates and reasonings of our minds,—if the *effects* only of his working be visible, but the manner of it imperceptible: then every admonition from the pulpit, every wholesome law, every advice from a friend, or a parent, every good book, every pious example, every motion and intention to do well, every conviction, every check of conscience, is a blowing of this wind, a call, or impulse from above; and as often as any man refuses to comply with these things, so often he resists God, and quenches his Holy Spirit.

Lastly, this shows us what course we should take, in order to grow in grace. We should diligently use the word and sacraments, and

other means of grace vouchsafed us, in order to improve in virtue; and then we need not doubt of God's assistance. He will forward and strengthen our good intentions, and will not fail to finish what he himself hath begun, but will perform and continue it until the day of Christ Jesus, and reward us with a crown of glory.

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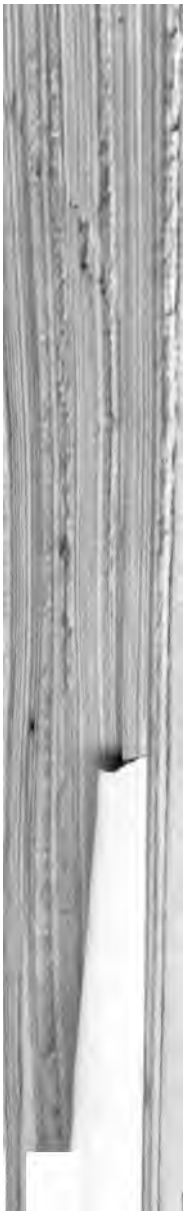

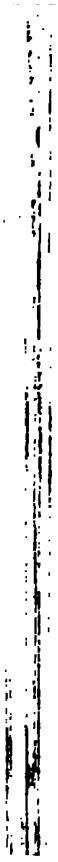

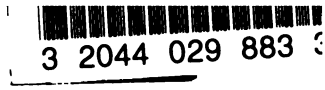
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